SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu): Madam, actually they want to politicise it. *(Interruptions)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I understand that Mr. Rajgopal and Mr. Venkaiah Naidu had also given this notice. The hon. Chairman in his own wisdom has allowed discussion only on the North-East. That is why it is listed today. If you want that south or any other part of the country should also be discussed, you can very well talk to the hon. Chairman. But this is what was decided in BAC. It has been listed for today. Let us start the discussion. Let Mr. Malhotra start the discussion. In any case, if you want to speak, you may add that to your speech. There is no restriction on you. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: I am sorry, Madam, ...*(Interruptions)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. Let me complete. *(Interruptions)* Just listen.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Madam, the whole discussion will be politised.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Virumbi, what do we do in Parliament, if we don't do politics? We do politics here.
Let me complete my sentence first.

So, it is quite natural that every Member would want to speak about what he thinks the problem is, whether something is listed or unlisted. You will speak about your concerns.

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: With due rspect, I want to say one small thing. BAC had looked into the matter and allowed discussion only on one aspect of the matter.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: The only problem is that they do not know the Rules of Procedure, Madam. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Anyway, Madam, you have just now given the ruling that we should consult the hon. Chairman. But you are also saying that we can add this while speaking. Madam, the problem of North-Bast is totally different. The problem of south is different. They want- to politicise the
issue. *(Intelrupiions)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ore minute. According to the rules, if the debate becomes irreleviarit at any fxiint of time, the Chair can stop the discussion. But as long as the discussion is within the rules and it is relevant to the subject, Members can speak. Well, we all belong to India. There is no division in the country. So, if some Member speaks, I cannot stop him. Also, I cannot direct a Member before he has spoken. I don't know what Mr. Venkaiah Naidu has in his mind. He might speak about Maharashtra or Gujarat. Let the discussion start and we will direct it properly. Don't worry about it.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Madam, then I should also be given permission to speak afterwards. I will confine myself to North-East *(Interruptions)* They want to politicise it. I feel that I must be given a chance to speak.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When we reach the river, then we will know how to cross it. Okay, let us reach. You are preempting it. If you did not say, I am sure, he would not have mentioned it. Now, as you have said, I would be apprehensive he might do it. ...*(Interruptions)*... Okay. Now Prof. Vijay Kumar Malhotra.

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION

The Grave Siuuation Arising out of Increase in the Subverrfv Activities in the North-Eastern Region of the Country

प्रो. विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा (**दिल्ली**): उपसभापति महोदय, आज पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों से आतंकवाद पर बहस मणिपुर में कल आतंवादियों के हाथों मारे गये आठ जवानों की प्रष्ठभूमि में हो रही है। सी. आर. पी. एफ. के आठ जवान जिनमें से तीन नॉन कमीशंड आफिसर्स

थे, उनको सशस्त्र विद्रोहियों ने घात लगाकर इम्फाल सिल्वर मार्ग पर कल मौत के घाट सुलाया। पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में पिछले कई सालों से लगातार आतंकवाद की ज्वाला जल रही है। वर्षों से नृशंस हत्याकांड हो रहे हैं। लूटपाट, अपहरण, जबरन धन उगाही, बलात्कार और महिलाओं, बच्चों और नागरिकों को गोलियओं से भूना चा रहा है। बम विस्फोटों का सिलसिला पिछले कई सालों से चल रहा है। स्थिति की गंभीरता का अंदाजा इस बात से लगाया जा सकता हू कि नार्थ ईस्ट में 2 लाख 55 हजार 83 स्केयर किलोमीटर का इलाका है, लगभग सवा तीन करोड़ के करीब आबादी है और वहां पर दो लाख के लगभग पैरा, मिलिट्री फोर्सिस मिलिट्री पुलिस तैनात है। उनको सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से तैनात करना पड़ता है। उपसभापित महोदय, 70 कट्टरपंथी संगठित आतंकवादी गिरोह इस इलाके में साक्रिय है और सब स्थानों में आतंकवाद वहां पर फैलाया जा रहा है। पिछले तीन सालों में पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में आतंकवादी हमलों में 2250 नागरिक मारे गये और 750 सैनिक बल वहां पर मौत का शिकार हुए। पिछले तीन सालों में अकेले आसाम में 758 नागरिक और 244 सैनिक बल मारे गये। कलकत्ता से कुछ दिनों पहले उल्फा के प्रदीप गोगोई की जब गिरफ्तारी हुई तो ऐसे रोमांचकारी रहस्योदघाटन हुए। उत्तरी बंगाल के जल पाईगुड़ी जिले के जंगलों में उल्फा के सशस्त्र प्रशिक्षण शिविर कई सालों से चल रहे हैं। उल्फा के शिविर आज ही गृह मंत्री जो के जवाब में भी इस बात को स्वीकार किया गया कि रिपोर्टों के मुताबिक उल्फा के शिविर वर्मा, मयनामार, बंगलादेश और भूटान में काम कर रहे हैं। उल्फा को धन देने वाली कम्पनियों का बहुत जिक्र हुआ है। मैं उसमें इस समय नहीं जाना चाहता कि जबर्दस्ती उनसे जो पैसा ले रहे थे, किस किस कम्पनी ने उनको कितना रुपया दिया और वहां पर क्या स्थिति है। परन्तु जबरन धन उगाही आतंकवाद फैलाकर, अपहरण करके हत्याएं करके, बस वात्रियों को मारकर वसूली की जा रही है। प्रदीप गोगोई पाकिस्तान भी गया था और वहां वह सरकारी अतिथि था। पाकिस्तान की आई. एस. आई. संस्था से उसके गहरे ताल्लुक रहे हैं। वह भी पुलिस की रिपोर्ट में और गुप्तचर रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है। महोदय, नागालैंड में 316 नागरिक मारे गये, 111 सैनिक बल मारे गये। नैशनल सोशलिस्ट काउंसिल ऑफ नागालैंड के दोनों गुट मुईया और खापलांग उन्होंने वहां पर अभी युद्ध वियम तो जरूर किया था पर खापलांग गुट ने बाद में आठ जवानों की हत्या कर दी। बोडो और असमिया बोडो और सांथल, बोडो और कौंच, बोडो और राजवंती, बौडो और नेपाली लगातार वहां संघर्ष कर रहे है। बोडोलैंड बनाने के लिए इंडीपेडेंट बोडोलैंड और ऐथेनिक क्लीनसिंग के नाम पर संथालों, बंगालियों और नेपालियों की हत्याएं हो रही हैं। त्रिपुरा में भी पिछले तीन सालों में 554 नागरिक और 115 सैनिक बल मारे गये। त्रिपुरा टाइगर फोर्सिस, नेशनल लिब्रेशन फ्रंट ऑफ त्रिपुरा और उन्होंने भी वहां पर जो स्थिति पैदा की राज्य के स्वास्थ्य मंत्री श्री विमाल सिन्हा की हत्या हुई, फिरौती लेकर उसके भाई को छोड़ा गया। मिजोरम में मिजोरम रियांग कबीले एक दूसरे के सामने हैं। लालडेंगा के बीस साल के रक्तपात के बाद कुछ समय पहले से फिर से ज्वालाएं उठ रही हैं। रियांगों की तरफ से यह आरोप लगाया जा रहा है कि उनको जबर्दस्ती ईसाई बनाया जा रहा है, उनकी स्त्रियों के साथ बलात्कार किए जा रहे हैं, उनके घर जलाए गये, उनके कब्लेआम जारी हैं और बहुत से रियांग घर बार छोड़कर त्रिपुरा चले गये हैं। मणिपुर में नेशनल गेम्स होने जा रहे हैं। नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन के तौर पर सारे देश के नेशनल गेम्स को वहां पर करने का फैसला किया गया है परन्तु कल आठ जवान मारे गए और तीन सालों में 533 नागरिकों की और 240 सैनिक बलों की वहां पर हत्याएं हुई हैं। नार्थ ईस्ट और नार्थ वेस्ट इन दोनों क्षेत्रों में आतंकवाद की स्थिति एक जैसी है। आज एक प्रश्न पूछा था कांग्रेस पार्टी के श्री गाडगिल जी ने और उसका जवाब गृह मंत्री जी की तरफ से दिया गया। उन्होंने पूछा था कि क्या आई. एस. आई. ने सारे हिन्दुस्तान के चारों तरफ आई. एस. आई. की एक्टिविटीज छा गई है। तो उसके जवाब में यह बताया गया कि यह ठीक है कि आई. एस. आई. इन सारी आतंकवाद की कार्यवाइयों में शामिल है और यह कहा कि घेरा नहीं डाला गया है। जैसा कि अभी जिक्र हुआ कि उत्तर पश्चिम और उत्तर पूर्व और दक्षिण में केरल और तमिलनाडु उधर से बंगाल और दिल्ली बहुत सी जगह पर, सब जगह पर उनके अड्डे हैं और एक तरह से यह घेरा ही बन रहा है। उत्तर पश्चिम और उत्तर पूर्व में एक चीज समान है और वह चीज यह है कि दोनों जगह पर ही इनसरजेंसी हैं, दोनों जगह पर सशस्त्र विद्रोह हैं, दोनों जगह पर औरतों और बच्चों का कत्लेआम किया जा रहा है, भीषण और नृशंस हत्याकांड किए जा रहे हैं, दोनों ही जगह पर ड्रग्स को लाया जा रहा है और दोनों जगह पर आई. एस. आई. की एक्टिविटीज हैं, आई. एस. आई. दोनों जगह पर प्रश्रम दे रही है, सहारा दे रही है, बढ़ावा दे रही है।

उपसभापति महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने पिछले तीन महीने में वहां पर काफी कदम उठाये हैं और उन्होंने इसको काफी गम्भीरता से लिया है। इसके बारे में जसवन्त सिंह जी ने और गृह मंत्री जी बताएंगे कि वहां पर क्या क्या कदम उठाये गये हैं। पूर्वोत्तर क्षेत्र के लिए पन्द्रह सौ करोड़ रुपये बजट का 10 प्रतिशत पैसा वहां के इम्पलायमेंट के लिए रखा है। इसके बारे में भी मंत्री जी बतायेंगे। में जानता हूं कि काफी चिन्ता के साथ सरकार ने आते ही पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों के बारे में विचार किया है। परन्तु मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूं।

महोदय, पहली बात तो यह है कि वहां पर घुसपैठ हुई है और खासतौर पर बंगालदेश से घुसपैठ हुई है जिससे वहां की स्थिति बहुत बिगडी है। पार्लियामेंट्री स्टैंडिंग कमेटी ने अपना कल परसों रिपोर्ट पेश की है उसमें यह कहा है कि यहां पर अभी तक बाड क्यों नहीं लगाई गई है। करीब दो करोड़ बंगलादेश लोग आए और वे जगह जगह पर सारे देश में फैल गए हैं। उसके बाद भी हर बार होम मिनिस्ट्री से बहुत पहले से लगातार यह कहा जा रहा है कि सैकडों मील की जगह खाली है और बंगलादेश से आने जाने में रुकावट नही की जा सकी है। वहां पर सख्ती करने की जरुरत है। उन बंगलादेशियों को म्यांमार ने, बर्मा ने वापस खदेड़ दिया, सऊदी अरेकिया ने भी उनको वापस खदेड़ दिया है। बंगलादेशी घुसपैठियों को वापस भेजना तो दूर रहा, उनको आने से तो रोका जाना चाहिए। वहां पर वाड़ लगाने में अगर बंगलादेश की सरकार रुकावट डाल रही है तो इस बात की परवाह किए विना वहां पर बाड़ लगाने का काम और वहां पर बार्डर सील करने का काम बहुत सख्ती से किया जाना चाहिए। एक बात तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं।

उपसभाति महोदया, यह ठीक है कि केवल सैनिक कार्रवाइयों से काम नहीं चल सकता है इसलिए वहां पर विकास कार्य भी करना चाहिए। केवल विकास से ही काम नहीं चलेगा अगर विकास की बात होती है, क्योंकि एजुकेशन की बात लें तो मिजोरम में तो इस समय सारे हिंदुस्तान में सबसे ज्यादा साक्षरता है फिर भी वहां पर उतना ही ज्यादा आतंकवाद हो रहा है और वहां पर पूरी तरह से एथलिक कलीनिंग की बात हो रही है। इसलिए विकास और ला- इनफोर्समेंट दोनों को साथ साथ जोड़ना पड़ेगा और दोनों अलग अलग करके नहीं की जा सकती ।

उपसभपति महोदया, एक बात मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि जो टाडा कानून था वह खत्म हो गया है। अब टाडा के बाद कोई कानून हिंदुस्तान में होगा कि नहीं होगा इन आतंकवादियों के लिए? अभी तमिलनाडु में डी.एम.के. की सरकार ने एक कानून बनाया है और ए.आई.डी.एण.के. के सदस्यों ने उसका समर्थन किया है। अगर कहीं पर टाडा का दुरुपयोग हुआ है तो उस दुरुपयोग को रोका जाए। अगर नेशनल सेक्योरिटी एक्ट के बारे में यह कहा जाता है कि कहीं राजनीतिक प्रतिद्वन्द्वियों के खिलाफ इसका इस्तेमाल न हो तो यह बात भी ठीक है कि उसका राजनीतिक प्रतिद्वन्द्वियों के खिलाफ इस्तेमाल न हो। अगर टाडा को रिप्लेस करने वाला कोई कानून हिंदुस्तान में नहीं होगा तो आतंकवादियों को उसी तरह से जमानतें मिलती रहेंगी जैसे प्रदीप गगोई को दो बार जमानत मिली है।दो बार जमानतें लेकर वह पाकिस्तान गया। कोई कानून इस तरह का न होने की वजह से यह दिक्कत हुई है। दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कै टाडा के 1355 मामले थे जिनमें से पिछले साल 1997-98 में केवल दो केस का फैसला हुआ है बाकि एक भी केस का फैसला नहीं हो रहा है। अगर कहीं कोई सालों साल आतंकवाद करे, नृशंस लोगों को हत्या करे औऱ उसके बाद पकड़ा जाए तथा उसके बाद उनके किसी केस का फैसला न हो तो गृह मंत्री जी इस मामले को देखें के जल्दी से जल्दी इनका फैसला है।

मैंने इसका उदाहरण दिया था कि मुम्बई बम कांड के साथ साथ न्यायर्क के वर्ल्ड सैन्टर का भी काण्ड हुआ था। उसके अभियुक्त को पकड़कर दो साल में ही सजा हो गई और अब सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने उसको 240 साल की सजा दी है बिना जमाने ते । काल कोठरी में कोई उससे मिल नहीं सकता है। उसको नृशंस हत्यारा कहा है, राक्षस कहा है और कहा है कि इसको ऐसी हीसजा देनी चाहिए। यह बात उनकी रिपोर्ट में कही गई है।

उपसभापति : किसको सजा दी गई है?

प्रो. विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा : मैडम, पाकिस्तान क एक आदमी ने न्यूयार्क के वर्ल्ड ट्रेड सैन्टर में बम फैका था। उसको लोअर कोर्ट न सजा दी औऱ वहां की संघीप अदालत ने उसको जनबरी के महीने में कन्फर्म किया और यह कहा कि 240 साल की उम्र कैद, बिना जमानत और बिना पैरोल के । 240 साल तो किसने रहना है लेकिन सजा कितनी सख्त है इसलिए मैं उदाहरण दे रहा हूं। लेकिन अभी तक मुम्बई बम कांड के किसी एक आदमी को भी सजा नहीं दी गई। सजा देने में जो यहां,

इतनी देर लगती है इसके बारे में भी विचार करना चाहिए।

हमारे ही पड़ौस में बंगलादेश, नेपाल, भूटान, बर्मा और थाईलैंड आदि देश हैं। भारत सहित इन 6 देशों में आतंकवादी शरण लेते हैं। अभी पिछले दिनों फ्रान्स, बैल्जियम, जर्मनी, इटली, स्वीटजरलैंड आदि सभी देशों ने मिलकर आतंकवाद के खिलाफ सामूहिक अभियान छेड़ा है। भारत, बंगलादेश, भूटान, नेपाल, म्यांमर और थाईलैंड इनको मिलकर ड्रग्स और आतंकवाद के खिलाफ ज्वाइंट मुहिम चलानी चाहिए और इनको खत्म करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए, तभी लाभ हो सकता है। नहीं तो बार-बार जो कैम्प बनते हैं, आईएसआई उनको इनमें छिपाता है, उनको आश्रय देता है और ट्रेनिंग कैम्प चलाता है। इस स्थिति को भी देखने की जरुरत है।

चर्चा की भूमिका के बारे में भी विचार करने की जरुरत है क्योंकि चर्च की 150वीं सालगिरह पर नागालैंड ने खुद ही सीज फायर कर दिये। इसका मतलब यह है चर्च अगर अब सीज फायर कर सकता है तो आगे भी जरुर कर सकता है। अगर जरुरत हो तो चर्च संस्थाओं से बात करके, पॉप से बात करके चर्च की जो भूमिका है उस पर भी विचार करना चाहिए औऱ वहां की स्थिति को भी संभालना चाहिए।

राज्य की पुलिस को आधुनिकतम बनाने के लिए आप कोशिश कर रहे है, बहुत अच्छी बात है औऱ उसका लाभ होगा, ये जो एन्ट्री परमिट है इसका भी काफी नुकसान हो रहा है। इसकी वजह से टूरिस्ट वहां नहीं जा सकते है, हिंदुस्तान के लोग वहां नहीं पहुंच सकते। इसलिए एन्ट्री परमिट केबारे में विचार करें ताकि एन्ट्री परमिट को हटाया जाए और ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोग यहां से जाएं और ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोग वहां से आएं।

नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन के सवाल के बारे में मैं एक बात औऱ कहना चाहता हूं कि वहां के लोग देश को अपना समझें, देश के साथ उनकी दूरी न हो। चाहे विकास पर हम दस करोड़ रुपए खर्च कर लें। हमारा दो लाख करोड़ का बजट है और नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन के लिए दो करोड़ रुपया पिछले सालों से हर साल रखा जा रहा है। उसमें से क्या होता है, नार्थ ईस्ट के स्टुडेंट्स का कैम्प लग गया औऱ हमारे अखबार नवीस वहां चले गए, कोई मेल जोल की बात हो गई । एक कैम्प लगाने से नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन हो सकती है या हमारे जर्नीलिस्ट चले गये उससे काम बन सकता है? नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन के लिए वहां के लोगों का तालमेंल बढ़े, सभी विद्यार्थियों के यहां के विद्यार्थियों के साथ कामन लिंक्स बने। इस दो करोड़ की राशि में कुछ भी नहीं हो सकता है। नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन अगर करनी है तो जो दो करोड़ का बजट है इसको बढ़ाकर दो चार सौ करोड़ किया जाए। सारे देश के लोगों में यह भावना पैदा की जाए कि यह देश हमारा है, तो मैं समझता हूं कि इसमें काफी बात हो सकती है।

आपने उनको वार्ता का न्यौता दिया, बहुत अच्छी बात है। उनसे बातचीत करनी चाहिए। उनको डायलाग के लिए निमंत्रित करना चाहिए । यदि बातचीत से मामला संभल जाए तो बहुत अच्छा है । परन्तु यदि वे वार्ता के लिए तैयार ही न हों, टेबल पर आने के लिए ही तैयार न हों और लगातार हत्याकांड करते जाएं और मध्यस्थता के लिए भी तैयार न हों क्योंकि अभी जार्ज फर्नान्डीज साहब और उनके बीच मे मध्यस्थता करने वाले एडवोकेट सुरजीत मित्र की भी हत्या हो गई, वार्ता और मध्यस्थत तो ठीक है परन्तु उसके बीच नृशंस हत्याकांड की अनुमति नहीं दी जा सकती । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं गृह मंत्री जी से कि जो वार्ता के लिए तैयार नहीं है, जो देश के संविधान को कुछ नहीं समझते, मानव अधिकारों से जिनका कोई मतलब नहीं, महिलाओं और बच्चों को बड़ी संख्या में गोलियों से भूनना जिनका शौक और शुगल है, जो पूर्वोत्तर क्षेत्र की जनता को शान्ति से जीने नहीं दे रहे हैं, उनके सुकून को छीन रहे हैं, उन्हे जड़ मूल से खत्म करने की कोई कारगर योजना बनाएं। जो भी कदम उन्होंने उठाए हैं, उनकी पूरी प्रशांसा करते हुए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यह उत्तर पूर्व की स्थिति बहुत भीषण बनी हुई है बहुत सालों से, इसका निराकरण करने का अवसर आया है, ऐसी स्थिति की शीघ्र समाप्त करनी चाहिए धन्यवाद।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Shri C. Apok Jamir.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Kerala): It is his maiden speech.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes. A young man making a maiden speech has its own significance.

SHRI C. APOK JAMIR (Nagaland): Madam Chairperson, I am very grateful to you for having given me this opportunity to participate in this discussion on the situation in North-East, which is very relevant at this juncture when we are facing so many problems in that area. As everyone is aware, when we

talk about North-East region, we automatically refer to Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Mizoram. And if we look at the boundaries, we see that the boundaries of all these States have been connected to Burma, China, Bangladesh and Bhutan. So, in other words, this part of North-East region has a very great significance. As far as the security of the nation is concerned, the North-East region has a very strategic significance and, I think, Members of this august House and the Home Minister should pay heed to this importance. For the last forty years this whole region has been neglected. It has been in darkness. There has been a feeling of isolation among the people. In spite of all the efforts made by the Central Government, during the past 40 years we are facing this problem of insurgency today. Insurgency is something which was .not in existence in all the North-Eastern States. In fact, through an agreement, for political reasons, Nagaland got statehood in 1963. [t was the wisdom and the farsightedness of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru that to fulfil the aspirations and to maintain the identity of the tribal people there, this State came into exi.stence. Now, why is insurgency at its peak today? I think, this is an issue over which every responsible Member of this August House and the whole nation has to think and come out with a solution. It will have a positive effect on the people of this region. As we are approaching the 21st century, we just cannot leave this whole area as it is. 3.00 P.M. I think a lot of thought has to be put into the incidents, the accidents which are taking place during this century. We should see« to it that the same picture is not repeated in the 21st century which is just a couple of years ahead. As far as the insurgency is concerned, since the independence of this country, we have seen, especially in Nagaland insurgency has been the route more as a secessionist movement and which has gained momentum after economic disparity has set in in this region. Because of this ever iiicreasing unemployment problem, the people of this region, especially the youths have gone astray. I think, it is the yoiith of these areas that the Government of India should focus on. I feel that this insurgency has a big relevance as far as economic development is concerned. The rise in insurgency has more to do with the lack of economic development in these areas. When North-East came into existence or came into prominence—I think it was during the Chinese aggression—in 1962, it is only then that realisation dawned that there are people in this part of the region who also form part and parcel of this great nation. But, unfortunately, despite the realisation—of course, efforts were made on the economic side and on the infrastracture side, efforts were made to construct roads and railways these were more from the defence point of view and from the strategic point of view. Since everything depends on economic development, I think that more emphasis should be put on the economic side.

I know that each State has its own inherent problems and each State can bring about a solution to its own inherent problems. I would like to dwell on the State of Nagaland, since I hail from that State, from that region. It is in Nagaland that insurgency had taken root. It is through this insurgency in Nagaland that it has spread throughout the North-Eastern States. I think that if you can curb or come to an understanding or come to the negotiating table with the present insurgency group to solve this problem it will be a stepping stone towards peace in this region. Madam, I would like to give a brief history of Nagaland; a very brief outline.

It was in 1946 that the movement started. It was during this time that the Naga People's Convention and Pandit Jawaharial Nehru, the Prime Minister of India then, came to an agreement on the basis of a sixteen-point memorandum which resulted in the creation of

Nagaland as the sixteenth State within the Indian Union.

The hallmark of this agreement was the spescial provision enviasged in article 371A of the Constitution of India which reads as under: I quote—'(a) No Act of Parliament in respect of—(i)religious or social practices of the Nagas, (ii) Naga customary law and procedure, (iii) administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Nagar customary law, (iv) ownership and transfer of land and its resources, shall apply to the State of Nagaland unless the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland by a Resolution so decides;'.

Therefore, Madam, a special status has been given to Nagaland. But, unfortunately, this agreement, this accord, which has been signed between the Government of India and the leadaers of Nagaland, has not been adhered to in toto. When you enter into an accord—be it the Assam Accord, be it the Bodo Accord, or any other accord—I think, to generate confidence among the people of that particular area, steps should be taken towards fulfilling the provisions of that accord. The aspirations of the people of that area should be taken into consideration.

We are very happy that a ceasefire has come into being in Nagaland. This is not just the result of the efforts which have been made recently. This has been the result of the efforts by many sections of the Naga people—the non-gevernmental organisations, the_Naga Ho-ho, which is the apex body of the Naga tribes, the Mothers' Association, the student body and the churches. They had taken the initiative and they had given their time to contact each and every section of the Nagas in order to bring about peace in the State of Nagaland. It is a tremendous achievement, no dout. But the point is whether this ceasefire would just be the ^d, or, whether any progress has been made.

To my knowledge, the State Government has not been taken into confidence. I feel that the State Government should be taken invo confidence. The State Government represents the people of Nagaland. It understands the sentiments of the Naga people. It knows the culture. It is aware of the way of thinking of the Naga people and their likes and dislikes. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that the State Government should be taken into confidence; particularly, when you are dealing with such sensitive issues and when you are dealing with an issue which is relating to the integrity and the unity of this great nation.

Madam, Chairperson, I would like to impress this upon our Home Minister. Why is it that only one faction has been approached? In fact, the state Government has been making efforts to contact each and every faction because we feel that they are also part and parcel of the Naga society. In fact, we have not only the NSCN(IM) but also the NSCN(K), the federal body and the NNC. These are also groups. The people who are involved in these also comprise a large chunk of the Naga populace. They are Nagas. So, I think they should also be approached.

In fact, when it comes to the question of the unity and integrity of this great nation, I think, pride should be s^ondary. I think the Government of India should go all out to see that peace is brought and that something concrete shapes up from the on-going process during the cease-fire.

Madam, Chairperson, I will also like to dwell on why there is so much of disparity in Nagaland. When I talk of Nagaland, I know that there are similar problems faced by the neighbouring States. We all hail from the same region, and we face the same common problems. The treatment meted out to this region by the mainland has not been satisfactory. Yes, efforts have been made, but they have not been made to the

satisfaction of the people of the North-Eastern region.

All the States are facing a financial crisis, and due to this, no developmental work can take place. None of the States is able to take up any work which will benefit the public at large. Why? Because the Central Government does not understand the disparities and the peculiarities of the area as a whole. When the State of Nagaland came into existence, it was a political decision. It was not on economic consideration. So, it is understandable that since it did not come into being under an economic consideration, the State needed cent-percent assistance from the Government.

There is an impression, a misconception, among the people in the mainland that despite all the fund which has been poured into the North-Eastern region during the past 40 years, no development is taking place and that there is so much of corruption. But, I would like to. point out to this august House that you should see it from the point of view that the North-Eastern areas, especially the tribal States, are not commercially viable areas.

The initial period of development was more on administrative areas such as building headquarters, providing water supply, electricity and other essential items which the people require. It was not necessarily for economic purpose, but for administrative convenience. So, in these areas a lot of money was spent and you cannot say that this was corruption. You cannot say that this is also not a part of development. But, today, what we need is to create avenues for the unemployed youths. For the last 40 years the population of the area has been increiasing, but the developmental process has not been keeping pace. That, I feel, is the crux of the problem of insurgency in Nagaland and other North-Eastern States. The Central. Government should give more thought to it and should give mere emphasis on the economic aspect of the problem to bail out the North-Eastern States from the present crisis that they are in. In fact, many (Z^mmittees and Commissions recommended lofty, constructive and attractive schemes for the region, but they have not been able to implement them. Take, for instance, Nagaland. We had the Rangarajan Committee, which was basically there to take care of the special category States. Without consulting the respective States, it recommended earmarkins of 20 per cent of the Plan Budget for the non-Plan areas. At the time when there is a fmancial crisis and when (he Northern States are facing problems, imposition of a 20 per cent cut on the'Plan money has caused a burden to the concerned States, especially Nagaland. We have problems. The Central Government should work out a mechanism, whereby a special incentive package is made available to the North-East.

Since the gravity of the North-East is very much pertinent and the august House is very well aware of as prevailing situation in these areas, as responsible Members of this august House, who have sworn here in the name of God or Constitution that they would uphold the unity and integrity of this great nation, I impress upon them not to delay in coming to a viable solution to rescue us from the pecarious condition, whether it be insurgency or economic condition. I impress upon the august House to consider this.

SHRI KHAGEN DAS (Tripura) Madam Chairperson, as you know I am a new Member. Before taking part in the discussion, I would like to say this. I do not know the rules and regulations and formalities of this House. I beg your pardon. Madam. Elderly and respected statesmen are here. If anybody is hurt by anything that I say, please excuse me.

While participating in the discussion, the people sitting in Delhi fail to see, understand and feel the agony of the people of the north-eastern region. The region was deprived, it was neglected, so

long. After 50 years of Independence, the north-eastern States are the most backward. No proper communication system is there; no infrastructure is there; there is no industry worth mentioning. Severe unemployment problem is there. Arc we, the people who are living there, responsible for it? This is my question to this august House. Are not the northeastern States within the Indian Union? The other day, while I was taking part in a seminar, a member of the Shukla Commission, Mr. Verghese, correctly pointed out that the north-eastern region was discovered only three years back. That is because only during the time of the United Front Government, Mr. Deve Gowda and Mr. Gujral, two Prime Minister, one after another, visited the north-eastern States. They went through the problems of the state. A Commission, the Shukla Commission, was appointed to go into the details and put forward its suggestions. There was another Committee also, the Boparai Committee. It also recommended something for the development of north-eastern States. I urge the Government of India to implement the recommendations of the Shukla Commission as well as the report of the Boparai Committee. So far as our neighbouring countries are concerned, I urge upon the Government of India to have good relations. The extremists are taking 'shelter in the neighbouring countries. The Home Ministry knows about it very well. So, a dialogue can be initiated with these countries to contain the extremist activities as well as the ISI activities and also activities of other foreign agencies.

Madam Chairperson, on the 3rd June, 1998, I had made a Special Mention wherein I had spoken about the need to curb activities of the extremists in the North-Eastem States. In my Special Mention I had briefly touched upon the nexus among the extremist groups in the North-East and foreign assistance being made available to them. I had specifically requested for deployment of additional forces in my State of Tripura for curbing the activities of the extremist groups. Madam Chairperson, I am thankful to you for giving me another opportunity to raise it again. Now, I will highlight the sufferings of the people of the North-East due to continued subversive activities in the F.e-gion. Right at the beginning I have mentioned that the situation in the Norh-I East Region is particularly complex because of the multi-lingual, multi-ethiic character of the Region and its geographical location. There is no denying tie fact that even after fifty years of Ind«-pendence, the North-East States remaii backward because of callous and step motherly treatment by the Central Gov ernment. Over the preceding 25 years lot of changes have taken place which threatening the entire security of tie Region and also the development pD-cess. As pointed out by the first spealer correctly there are 70 extremist organie-tions which are active in the Region. Tie urgent need of the hour is to effecti«ly deal with the extremist groups for the sake of the unity and integrity of the country. The sophisticated 'Weapois able-able to the miscreants and the mvtlve-ment of the ISI is fomenting troible in the region underlines the uigencj of a joint action "by the Centre and the State Governments to deal sternly with the insurgency problem. The region shart its border with China, Bhutan, Myamar and Bangladesh with a very narrow jne into the rest of India. According tothe Home Ministry's report there are caips in Myanmar, Bhutan and Banglaesh which are being used ffy the extrmists for their safe haven, sanctuary, t'niing. The Central Gdvemment must take up the matter with the concerned cointries to seek fheir cofjeration in "smantiing thes" cainps ana handingover *the* ei-tremists' to the Indian authorities. Some of the dreaded groups have international links which are borne out by the facts that they have offices in Thailand and England. The most disturbing feature of the extremists in the North-East Region is there is a growing evidence of several

groups coming together on some points. Their interests are common. With assistance from neighbouring countries their interaction seems to be growing.

Another feature of the extremists in the North-East is outside forces are acting with the sole purpose of destabilising the region and the country. As a result of which the unity and integrity of the country is seriously threatened. Prof. Vij-ay Kumar Malhotra has correctly pointed out that the striking feature of the in-surgency in the North-East has been the thoughtless manner in which the extremists resort to killing. Killings are being done in the name of vaguely voiced separatist demand. But the sole objective of such crimes is to incite the communal violance, especially in Tripura, where the demographical situation is very delicate and distinctly different from the other States in the region. Today, money extor-tions, kidnappings, drug trafficking ...*(Time Bell)* Madam I am a new member. Please give me some more time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your party was given eleven minutss' time. You have spoken for exactly ten minutes. So, you can speak for one more minute.

SHRI KHAGEN DAS: Madam, I need another five minutes. Today, extortions, kidnappings and drug trafficking have become a big business in the North-East. In the absence of adequate employment opportunities people are driven by the lust of easy money. On the one hand, the under-development and lack of opportunities have led to growth of extremism. On the other hand, the activities of tlie insurgent groups are coming in the way of the developmental works in the region. The people in the North-East are fed up with these misguided elements. They want that the developmental works should take place. But due to the atmosphere of threat and fear created by the extremist outfits, people do not come out in open. I would like to mention here that due to the extremist activities all over the region and with the frequent road blockade and disruption of traffic, the sufferings of the people have increased manifold. The Government of India should develop an alternative route in the North-Eastern region to Bangladesh so that we do not remain dep>endent on one route only. The Central Government has to a.ssist the State Government in a big way to bring back normalcy in the region. The predominant feeling of alienation and deprivation among the people has to be addressed to.

The Shukla Commission has already made recommendations for bridging the gap in the infrastructure sector. It is imperative in the national interest that the Central Government should immediately act on these recommendations in a time bound manner.

Finally, I request the Government of India to give topmost priority to the security-related proposals, including the reimbursement of expenditure on security, as was done in the case of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Assam and also to consider the proposals on the governmental issues sent by the State Government of Tripura, keeping the interests of the State, the region and the nation.

I would like to submit one more point. It is my firm belief that there cannot be two opinions in this House on the question of maintaining the communal harmony and the unity and intcgrify of the country. I also believe that all the patriotic democratic and peace-loving people of the country above political affiliation will throw all their mites unitedly in this direction. There must not be any compromise with the elements who are raising the separatist and secessionist slogans and are engaged in extremist forces must be dealt with severely. For that, the Government of India must come forward and provide the necessary focces to the State Government for effective counter insurgency operation. But it is unfortunate that the Central Government is taking a different attitude in extending the

Kind ot help tliat is required by the State Government. The hon. Home Minister is present in the House. I would like to bring this fact to his notice. Our Chief Minister met the hon. Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Defence Minister... He brought to their notice the urgency of sending more additional forces. It was reported that the response was positive. Then the hon. Defence Minister visited Tripura. He had also given assurances and told them that within a very short period, he would invite the Chief Minister to Delhi in consultation with the Home Minister. Immediately after his departure from Tripura, one battalion of army was withdrawn. At that time, four M.Ps, one from West Bengal and three from Tripura, were there. We sent fax message to the hon. Prime Minister, the Home Minister artd the Defence Minister, to send back the forces and also to send five additional battalions of army for effective operation. Only army is the most effective in counter-insurgency operations. Then, three MPs from Tripura also rushed to Delhi and met the Union Defence Minister. He told them that he was not aware of the withdrawal of forces; he only came to know when he received our message. Then he also gave us an assurance that he would replenish the forces and, would, in consultation with the Chief Minister, invite our Chief Minister to Delhi for further consultation. The same day, we also met the hon. Home Minister. We had a cordial discussion and he had given us an assurance that he would look into it sympathetically, and would, in consultation with the Home Minister, invite the Chief Minister. But that was not done so far I again urge the Government of India ;hat when the unity and integrity of the country is threatened, they should come forward to help the State Government by sending immediately adequate forces for taking effective measures against the forces which are all to destabilise the region and the country. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Jaswant Singh.

SHRI MD. SALIM (West Bengal): Madam, it is his maiden speech.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: After a spell of a few years in Lok Sabha, he is again making a maiden speech here.

SHRI MD. SALIM: Hardly do we have an opportunity to listen to him.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am very grateful to you for your kind references. I will be very brief. I am a late entrant to this discussion because I was directed, I think quite appropriately, by the hon. Home Minister this morning that I must intervene, put across some of the aspects of what the Government has already done. This I do. Madam,—of course, I have the honour to do—both as a Member of this House and as a Chairman-designate of the newly expanded North-East Council. That is yet to be legislated upon, and I am sure, this House, and also the other House, will shortly be seized of it. There is unanimity about it, and also atJOUt the institution of the Council, its composition, expansion and role. I listened with great care, Madam, to the initiator of the discussion, and also the interventions by the two hon. Members, one from Nagaland and the other from Tripura. I listened carefu-ly because they gave voice to their pas-stionately held beliefs, and some of the concerns that they expressed, without any doubt, are poignant concerns which, I assure the hon. Members, this Government shares in their entirely. I recognise, Madam, that this discussion is focused on ISI-activitics, but it has by the very nature of it expanded into the economic and other aspects.

This is a fact, this is an oft-repeated fact, this is a reality that the geographical distance of what we collectively term as North-East has resulted in an emotional separatneess. Both have to be bridged; this geographical distance has to be bridged and the resultant emotional separateness has also to be bridged. The only method is communication, communication in a physical sense and

communlcaiion as communfcating. It is these deficiencies that have resulted during the last 50 years, in these 5 decades of independence, in creating a situation which by any standards, by any criteria, can not be called a satisfactory situation. There is another aspect. This is something about which I make an appeal to the entire House indeed, and certainly to the Members who have the honour to represent the States. There is an urge, as is an urge in other parts of the country, too, for the articulation and recognition of identity. This creates not so much conflict but disharmony. When we have a collective description "the North-Eastern States", it is a region that is being geographically described as the North-East, principally because of the convenience of description. But each of the States of that region is a separate State with a very distinct language, cultural pattern and life style. This is also an aspect of the challenge that we face. This is, after all, the Council of States. If the Council of States were not to address itself the problems of the States, who would? The focus of the discussion was on ISI and the activities of the ISI. It is my belief that the ISI, or any such activity, is really spawned in the foetid waters of discontent. If there is no discontent, no matter which agency from which country, how can it find roots there? The problem, therefore, is both external, to which we must address ourselves because it is our duty, and internal because somewhere somehow we have neglected to do that which prevents the water from stagnating and that stagnation has resulted in both these manifestations. Both have to be addressed. I have no doubt that the hon. Home Minister would be addressing himself the law and order aspect and the consequential insurgency aspect of it, and the related issues of the States' problems. My brief is limited. It is to share with you the approach that this Government has adopted on the economy. Why do I talk of the economy? Because, as the hon. Member from Nagaland has quite rightly pointed out, somewhere at the root of aU this does lies the question of economy. If the economy of the region were thriving; if there were sufficient jobs available, if the young of the entire region, of all the States, had not only education but also an opportunity to do something with that education—I don't say that the entire problem will be solved—but it will certainly go a very great distance towards solving the problems. It is easy to articulate these concerns. It is also easy to identify the objetives. It is not easy to achieve them. What is required is for the young, not simply of that region but of the country as a whole, of the entire nation, to live in a healthy body, in a healthy body inhabited by a creative mind and in that is then planted the seed of education and then the sap of life begins to run. It is this deficiency which has compounded itself particularly in North-East. I used the words 'North-East' in a geographical sense, not in a denotative, socially identifying sense. How has the Government approached the problem? Madam, we believe that the approach economically and otherwise has to be both integrated and integrative. Integrated in the sense of being holistic, and integrative in the sense of bringing together rather than separating, as inclusive, not as exclusive.

The second aspect which we fact everywhere is about this reality of a scarcity of resources. The approach that had been witnessed earlier of incremental allocations. One year being followed by the second year and an automatic 10 per cent or 8 per cent or 13 per cent increment of the previous year will now simply not work, unless that allocation is related to a specific implementation schedule. This is the kind of fiscal profligacy that the country can simply not affort. This is the second approach.

The third approach is about the growth of assets. Assets of the whole region must grow and the region must be enabled to develop on those assets. What are the assets? The greatest asset of the whole

region is water. Have we done something to develop water? We have not. That obviously becomes an objective. The other great asset is the forest wealth. Have we used, forest wealth well-enough, or unwisely? I tend to think—this is not a value judgement, it is a judgement of the reality—that we have exploited the forest wealth and we have used it unwisely. Therefore, we need to correct that. That is the basic approach. What has the Government done in this regard ever since it came into office? I don't want to engage in a competitive claim-making that they did this and we did this. The objective reality is that what the Government has done is there. Among the first states of the Union that the hon. Prime Minister visited was Assam. There was a symbolism in it, as also realism. He visited Assam because he felt that there was need for the Prime Minister of India to visit Assam first. The first major conference that the Prime Minister convened was a Conference of Chief Ministers of the North Eastern States. Among the first major decisions announced was about the reconstitution of the North-East Council and about the expansion of the Nortli-East Council by including in it the State of Sikkim, whose exclusion all these years is not really justifiable on geographical or on administrative grounds. A mention has been made of the Shukla Committee report. It was a high-level Committee appointed by the previous Government. Madam, it is just for the information of hon. Members. That Committee had actually been preceded by yet another Committee, Bimal Jalan Committee. I am not, therefore, going into the genealogy of the Committees that have been seized of this problem. But I think it is necessary for me to point cut what flaws existed in the fundamentals of the Shukla Committee report and why it became difficult to implement it. The then Prime Minister had announced an economic package for North-East. And a high level commission was appointed under Mr. S.P. Shukla, who was formerly a member of the Planning Commission. Mr. Shukla spent a great deal of energy, time and effort in the region and he examined the gaps in important sectors, in infrastructure development of the entire region, specially, power, communications, railways, roads,education, agriculture, etc. That Commission recomhiended a number of measures for clearing—and these are not my words—the backlog in basic minimum services. By the time this Commission concluded its work and gave its findings, there already existed a large backlog of basic mininfium services. And I don't have to define what basic minimum services are. Also, tliere were gaps in the infrastructure. The backlog identified by the Shukla Commission in basic minimum services amounted to Rs. 9,396 crores. That was the accumulated backlog. For gaps in infrastructure, the Shukla Commission identified a monetory requirement of Rs. 7,817 crores. He was, therefore, talking of something like seventeen thousand plus crores of rupees of accumulated backlog of the past fifty years. Seized of the enormity of this problem, the then Prime Minister, as also Mr. Gujral, and quite rightly, a special economic package. of those projects announc.' on-oing schemes because . the order of seventeen thousand plus crores were simply not vailable. Therefore, a mechanism was devised that ten per cent of budgetary allocations of the Ministries would be earmarked for the North-East. This could not really be done by the previous Government and I am not finding fault with them. It could not be done because it was simply unimplcmcntablc. Some of the Ministries and Departments said that they had nothing to do with the North-East, the Department of Atomic Energy, for example. I am simply illustrating.

Now, this is what this Government inherited. We had decided and the Prime Minister has already announced to have a project—approach, rather than simply an

approach of money allocation—the project approach and the implementation approach. The implementation machinery for projects will be placed on ground and will be devised in consultation with the States concerned. I have already informed the hon. Members about restructuring of the North-Eastein Council and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission has been unanimously elected as the Chairman of the North-Eastern Council. Of course, the existing North-Eastern Council had also been saying that the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission ought to be Chairman of the North Eastern Council.

AN HON. MEMBER: There was this demand.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Yes, it was their demand. Now, having learned from the experiences of the previous Government, this Government, therefore, took a decision that the earmarking of ten per cent of the budgetary allocation of each of the Ministry would become a non-lapsable pool fund. For example, if Rs. 100 from a particular Ministry are earmarked for the North-East, and for whatever reason that amount is not utilised in the year concerned, it would not result in the lapsing of that sum of money. This will be non-lapsable fund and it would constitute a pool, from which pool the Planning Commission, in consultation with the North-Eastern Council, will then provide balancing funds for infrastructure to the States of the North-East.

Now, we have also taken steps, Madam, to bring the entire region on the Information Highway, I have already undertaken a scheme which I hope will be implemented shortly so that videoconferencing facilities are available between capital Delhi and the capitals of each of those States. Whenever those States have to get in touch with Delhi, instead of a large number of people having to fly to Delhi or come to Delhi video-conferencing is a facility which they can make use of.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Provided there is electricity in Delhi.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Indeed, electricity is a vital input. Without it, video-conferencing might not be possible even between two houses.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I said it because the Minister is sitting here.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: A decision has been taken that the airport at Limpu in Mizoram will be inaugurated shortly. This has been the main demand of the State of Mizoram. Decisions about improving communications in the entire region as also providing additional air-links with Sikkim have been taken. Decisions about similar facilities to Arunachal Pradesh have also been taken. A new bridge, Narnarain-rail-cum-road-bridge, was inaugurated by the Prime Minister. With a view to reducing the financial burden of Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram, the Central assistance pattern has been raised from a ratio of 50 : 50 to 75 : 25 in specific projects, namely, Itanagar-Naral-gam and Aizawl Urban Water Supply. I cite these examples only to illustrate a point, not really to elaborate the totality of the concern that we share with the hon. Members about the States of the North-East. It is no doubt, a challenging situation, a situation that challenges not simply the unity of the Union of India, it challenges the creativity and the statecraft, and not again simply of the Government, but the collective body of all the representatives certainly in this Council of States.

SHRI MD. SALIM: Madam, I have to put a question.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No questions. Shri Angou Singh.

SHRI MD. SALIM: Madanj, this House has been benefited by the speech of Shri Jaswant Singh. I want to know whether he intervened in this discussion as a Member- of this House or as the

Chairman-designate of the going-to-be-expanded North-Eastern Council. Please clarify it.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I have participated in the discussion as an hon. Member of this House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Another Member who has got an extra status. Now, we have got a debate.

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH (Gujarat): Madam, it was the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission who was speaking. A number of important announcements have been made. I have to put a few pointed questions to him. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MD. SALIM; Yes, it was *i* statement by the Deputy Chairman ...*(In terruptions)*...

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: Madam, as important announcements have been made, I want to put a few pointed questions, if you permit. ...*(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES (Goa): Madam, I have a pointed question. If they are going to address the Members of Parliament, where is the Government then? A Member will come in a dual capacity is soniething else. Can he address the Parliament in that capacity and can questions be posed to him as Deputy Chairman? It is a wrong practice. Let the Government reply.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L.K. ADVANI): There are rules which permit a hon. Member to ask another Private Member also, not merely the Government.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The tiling is that when we aie having a debate, we don't put questions as such. He is Deputy Chairtnan of the Planning Commission and Chairman of the North-Extern Council.

4 P.M.

I have. a debate and I have certain names here. I can only permit Members in their own time and they can speak, on the subject, can put questions to him and they can be answered by the Minister because the Minister is answereable to the House and not a Member. He himself admitted that he is addressing this House as a Member. Let him brief the Minister and the Minister should answer. Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission or others who have become Members of the House cannot change rules. We cannot allow them to answer questions.

;SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: He made a major policy announcement. We have not been permitted to ask for clarifications. I leave this to your judgement. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: All these were done at the Conference of the North-Eastern Chief Ministers. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MD. SALIM: It can be a Government decision, an important decision. The point, is he is having so much of information. When he speaks in the House, it is as a Member of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is happening for the first time and I have to address myself and plan my mind because any discussion taking place in any committee, if it-is a Parliamentary Committee, Members or Chairmen sitting here are not allowed to divulge the discussion taking place in the committees until and unless the report is properly compiled and laid on the Table of the House. On this matter, as it is no committee of the Parliament and as it happened elsewhere in another capacity, as chairman of the North-Eastern Council or as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, I will have to go into the details of it because before him, Mr. Pranab Mukher-jee was also, I think, a Member of this House and Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. I will go into the record to see if he ever did announce any matter regarding tjie Planning Commission on what he did over there on the floor of the House. Then, we will see. If he had not, then we will have to have a different opinion on that.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: With your permission, I would like to give a clarification. I participated as a member of the House which honour and distinction I have as a member and whatever I have shared with the hon. Members are, not deliberations of any committee. They are in the knowledge of the public. The report of the Shukla Commission is a public document. Whatever I have said here by way of announcement are not my announcements, whatever the functional capacity I might or might not have. They are announcements that were made by the Prime Ministers, the earlier Prime Minister and the present Prime Minister. The present Prime Minister made these in a meeting, a public meeting, where Chief Ministers of the North-Eastern States were there. The announcement were 'made there and reported in the Press and I am simply repeating them?

DR. B.B. DUTTA (Nominated): It is because he has mentioned specifically one thing,'about non-lapseable resources pool and he happens to be a Member with enough competence to reply to my deification. I say that non-lapseable resource pool cannot be made as per the financial rules because Government accounts are kept and payments are made on cash basis. Whatever is not si>ent lapses automatically. How do you create a pool then? Please tell me. I emphasize the word 'Pool' which sounds like a 'reserve fund'

SHRI MD. SALIM: If you do not allow us to seek clarifications we cannot allow clarifications to be made here. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: It is wrong on.the part of a Member to reply because he is not in the Government.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is not answering. I am not permitting because if you want to seek any clarifications from the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission or from the Chairman of North-Eastern Council, please go to his office, seek an appointment and do what you like. Here, he is only a Member and I hope that any discussion i which has taken place in any committee, i if it is secret in nature or of a nature i which should come through a Parliamentary report or through a report of the Planning Commission, do not tell that now, please, because it will not be correct to say. That is it.

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: Madam, I would like to bring to your attention that the former Prime Minsiter's earlier package for the North-East was tabled in this House; also thai Shukla Committee's Report is available in the Parliament Library. So, if they are having announcements of Government policies, at least, we should have an opportunity to discuss these things. Otherwise, at least, let me seek some clarifications. This is a very important issue on a national policy.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What we do is, it is a very important Committee which has been formed and we are seized with the situation in the North-East. That is why, we are having a very important discussion over here. We would find time and we can have a discussion but let the report be s-'Omitted first,if it is a new report, because Shukla Committee's Report is there, and if there is any report on the North-Eastern Council coming to the House, we will definitely discuss. Now, let us go ahead. Mr. Angou Singh.

SHRI W. ANGOU SINGH (Manipur): Thank you. Deputy Chairperson. Madam, the North-East region comprises seven States. These States are known as "Seven sister-States." These States have been afflicted with insurgency, particularly, Manipur, Nagaland and Assam due to different factors such as ethnic, linguistic, historical, economic and geographical.

Madam, 60% of the whole region is covered by hills. The length of the international boundary of this region is 4,445 kms., out of which 1,125, kms. is with China; 489 kms. with Bhutan: 1,643

Icms. with Myanmar and 1,187 kms. with Bangladesh.

Over 200 tribes are inhabiting in this region and 192 languages/dialects are spoken. Madam, differentiation among the tribes is the main factor of the insurgency movement. Because of different factors, insurgency movement can easily inflicted on this region.

The States of Assam, Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura have a long international border with Bangladesh, Bhutan and Myanmar. The relationship with neighbouring countries like that of Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar and China is highly required to be improved and the economic condition of the people living in the border areas has also to be improved because they have no other way of their livelihood except of extend their help to the smugglers, drug-traffickers and insurgent movement. When I entered this House, I, myself had raised issues regarding the Border Area Development Programme for this long international border and for the economic uplift of the people. At that time, the then planning Minister, Dr. Alagh, who is also sitting here as a Member, had assured in this House that this Border Area Development Programme will be taken up during the Ninth Five Year Plan. So, by taking advantage of the discussion before the Deputy Chairman, who has just gone out, I wanted to know as to what is the present position about the Border Area Development Programme which is of great use and which will give help for a solution to the North-Eastern problem.'This is not a new problem for the North-East region. During the Birtish regime also, taking advantage of the peculiar conditions of this region, the ruling foreign power had a well-planned strategy to from tl e North-Eastern region as the North-Eastern Council after partitioning our country as a separate British colony, by making free ports, one at Maunglaw-Bathiduang region with Chillagong another at Moulmcin-Tavoy region to the. sea, where the Karcms predominate with Mons and other hill people. The feelings of Ih-c then nwakencd sections of pcop'c ran against the proposed plan of M.'. Coupland for carving out a Ncjrth-Eastcrn Council.

As regards today's discussion on subversive activities, for different factors, I am giving more stress to the State of

Manipur, as I belong to Manipur. As far as other States are concerned, their respective representatives will place their problems. Manipur is an insurgent State, where NSCN and Kuki extremists are working in hill areas . and PLA, PREPAK, UNLF, KCP, KYKL arc working in valley ' areas. Their main demand is to liberate Manipur from India to regain its lost Sovereignty.

Manipur was a free State even when the British conquered Manipur and did not form part of the British Dominion of India. It was merged with free India after an agreement between the then Governor-General of India and the Maharaja of Manipur on 21st September, 1949. This agreement came into effect from 15th October, 1949.

Before merging with India, Manipur had its own full-fledged State Assembly under the Manipur Assembly Act, 1947. The first elections was held here in 1948 with adult franchise, much before the holding of general elections by the Government of India after independence.

The present younger generations feel that they have lost the status which they used to enjoy as a free State before the merger with the Government of India. Why were not the merger agreements timely implemented? Why had Manipur been kept as a part "C" State after merger with the Government of India? These are all the feelings of the present youger generations of Manipur. Manipur was merged with the Government of India on economic conditions, but up io the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan, that is, for nearly twenty-five years, the State received only Rs. 20.68 crores, which is

far less in comparision to other States. Thus, Manipur and other North-Eastern States have been kept as third categoiy Slates in respect of per capita national income.

Sir, every year the undergrounds, the student organisations and other voluntary organisations observe the merger day, that is, 15th of October as a gloomy day, as a black day in different ways. *Bandhs* and public curfews are being imposed regularly. Remembering the past glorious history of Manipur and the conditions prevailing after merger with India, and the discontentment due to the negligence of Central Government, they have no other way except to make a demand for a return to the past history of free Manipur. This happened after three decades of merger with India. That means the presertt insurgent movement started after three decades. NSCN started in the year 1960, KNA in the year 1988, PLA in 1978, PREPAK in 1977, UNLF in 1964 and KYKL in 1994. These movement started after three decades. Regarding the negligence of the North-East Region, the Tata Consultancy Service, sponsored by the North-East Council in its report 'the Perspective Plan for North-East' had stated that the North-East region's share is a small part of its 2% parameter with the rest of the country, while 98 per cent of its boundary is with Bangladesh, Myanmar, Bhutan and China. The report further observed that the geographical isolation of the North-East Region has led its jjeople to leave India. The emergence of insurgency in the North-East, especially in Manipur,—after three decades of India's independence and Manipur's merger with India—is now out of control. The suppression by the forces will not bring in any decisive result and it would go out of control. I think that condition prevails in this region for the past twenty five years, though a sense of alienation from the mainstream of national fabric still persists, our democractic ethos and constant dialogue and discussion will greatly help in finding a way to bring about a solution to the present situation. Every problem can be solved through negotiation, discussion rather than confrontation. India being a socialist country, the disparities among the States should not be kept. Along with discussion and negotiation, economic development programmes in this region should also be made gpod side by side. Those restrictions to the region should be removed as that undermines the prestige of the people of this region. Hence, the following measures are proposed to be taken up. I have already raised this point in different forums when I became a Member of this House. That is, regarding removal of inner line permits and area restriction permit, that restricts the foreigners in this region. The younger generation thinks as to why it should become a part of India. They ask as to' why, when foreigners have been allowed to go to the other States, they should not be allowed to enter Manipur and the other States in the North-Eastern Region.

There is another thing I would like to point out is that today, I got a reply regarding the Manipur merger question. The Home Minister is here. In relation to the Manipur merger agreement, I had asked whether all the articles of the agreement have been properly fulfilled now. In his reply, the Home Minister has said: 'Government have fulfilled all its obligations within the Constitutional framework'. Okay. He may be right. But the point I want to make here is that this agreement was not under the Constitution. This was an agreement entered into between one sovereign State, i.e. Manipur—Manipur being a sovereign State at that time—and another sovereign state, i.e. the Government of India. There was a provision in that agreement that for the sake of the unemployed youth, a special employment programme should be taken up. This was one of the niain points in that merger agreement. Therefore, the- younger generation—the educated youth—are demanding employment opportunities. From that point of view, the answer

given by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs would not assuage the feelings of the younger generation. It would only mean adding fuel to the fire.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM) IN THE CHAIR]

To solve the unemployment problem among the youth, the State Government started one special employment programme. This has also not been implemented because of the reluctance on the part of the commercial banks to come forward and render help. The matter had been raised in this House, but nothing has been materialised.

As far as the Special Powers Act in relation to the North-Eastern Region is concerned, I want to say that it should be in force. But there is the question of security-related expenditure, i say that the expenditure incurred by the State Government on this account should be reimbursed since its imposition to this region.

In this connection, I appreciate the decision of the present Government in regard to waive out some of the loans in the case of Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. The same thing should be done in the case of the North-Eastern Region also because it is also an insurgency-prone area. So long as the Special power Act is in force in this region, the expenditure related to the security which is borne by the State Government should be reimbursed so that the State Government would have funds and the development programm*": would not suffer for want of funds.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Angou Singh, you have to conclude now.

SHRI W. ANGOU SINGH: I have only two-three points more.

Another thing is that recently, the Central Government has decided to release Rs. 250 crores to the Jammu and Kashmir Government as financial assistance to meet the financial problem of the State. Why should it not be done in the case of the insurgent-prone North-Eastern States also? One thing is that during the period when the Janata Party was in power at the Centre, the then Deputy Prime Minister, Shri Devi Lai's loan waiver scheme had affected the North-Eastern Region. Most of the State co-operative banks are not functioning well. They require to be rehabilitated. As far as the loan position of the North-Eastern States is concerned, the irrecoverable loans are of the order of Rs. 33.16 crores; the overdues are of the order of Rs. 149.69 crores. The reason is that it is an insurgent-prone area. Even with this new programme and even after fifty years of India's Independence, there is no remarkable infrastructure in this area. There is no democratic infrastructure like Assembly building. High Court building or Secretariat building. All these are to be constructed so that our younger generation may think that they have their own infrastructure.

Another one about roads and railways. My colleague from Nagaland has already mentioned about this.

The younger generation feels that even after fifty years of Indian Independence, we haVe no railways head up to our State capital. There is no proper national highway. There is always disturbance continued on the national highway.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Please conclude.

SHRI W. ANGOU SINGH: Because of the disturbance continued on the national highway, people are becoming more and more furious day by day. This should also be looked into.

I have already raised in this House that for looking into these affairs, a separate Ministry for the North-East affairs should be created. When I raised it during the tenure of the United Front Government, they created a Cell in the Prime Minister's Office. I hear that "Ministry of North-East affairs" forms part of the National Agenda of the present Govern-

ment, but i(has not yet been created. In order to make peace and to develop the region equally with the rest of the country, a separate Ministry should be created. After that, development work for this area can be launched.

With these words, I conclude, Sir.

Thanking you Mr. Vice Chairman.

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी (बिहार): शुक्रिया, सदरे मोहतरम। आज हाऊश में शार्ट ड्यूरेशन डिस्कशन के जरिए नार्थ ईस्ट और उसके साथ साथ मुल्क के दीगर हिस्सों में आंतकवाद के जरिए जम्रे हुए कुकर्मों से हिंदुस्तान की हैसियत और गरिमा को दागदार होने का या करने का जो चलन बन गया है, इस सेंसटिव मसले के हल के लिए बहुत ही हस्सास तरीके से हमारे साथियों ने इस मसले को यहां उठाया है। जो खास बात अब तक सामने आई है, वह यह है कि मणिपुर, नागालैंड, मिजोरम, त्रिपुरा और इस तरह से नार्थ ईस्ट के दीगर इलाकों में देशद्रोह का एक वातावरण पैदा हो गया है। मुल्क के साथ गद्दारी न सिर्फ यह कि इस मुल्क की तबाही का पेशखेमा बनती है, बल्कि मुल्क में रहने वाले जिम्मेदार लोगों के लिए भी निहायत ही काबिले शर्म की बात है कि मुल्क के कुछ लोग गद्दारी की राह पर चल खड़े होते है। नार्थ ईस्ट से आए हुए मेंबरान ए पार्लिया मेंट ने बहुत ही तफसील के साथ अपने इलाके का जायजा कुछ इन्हीं बुनियादों पर लेते हुए हाऊस को वहां के हालात से अवगत कराया है। बात चली थी आई.एस.आइ. औऱ आई. एस. आई. से चलकर अंदरुनी आतंकवाद पर बहस केन्द्रित हो गई है। इसका साफ मतलब यह है कि बाहर की ताकतें जो मुल्क को कमजोर करने के लिए हमारे मुल्क की गरीबी औऱ हमारे मुल्क की कमजोरी का फायदा उठाती है उन्हीं के साथ साथ मेम्बराने पार्लियामेंट की तकरीरों की रोशनी में यह बात भी साफ तौर पर महसूस की जा रही है कि मुल्क के आर्थिक मसायल, एजुकेशनल प्रोब्लम, रोड-सड़के और इलाकों को दी हुई धनराशि कमी है, यह भी दाखली तौर पर आतंकवाद का सबब बनी है। तो खारजी तौर पर आतंकबाद हमारे मुल्क में फैलाया जा रहा है और दाखली तौर पर हमारे देश के नौजवान हमारे देश के साथ असंतुष्ट नजर आ रहे हैं। साथ ही साथ विजय मल्होत्रा साहब ने इस सवाल को उठाते हुए जिस तरह डाटा दिया है मैं यकीन के साथ इस बात को कह सकता हूं कि आज के दिन हमारे हाउस में इस तरह का डाटा उन्ही जैसी शख्सियत दे सकती है इसलिए कि उन्हें जो जराये हासिल हैं शायद आम मेम्बराने पार्लियामेंट को वह जराये हासिल नहीं है । यह कितनी तशवीशनाक बात है कि आतंकवाद के जरिए मुल्क में हमारे सरहदों के मुहाफिजों का मारा जाना, आर्मी का मारा जाना, बोर्डर सिक्योरिटी फोर्स का तहे तेग होना और यह सारे डाटा बहुत ही जिम्मेदारी के साथ हाउस को पेश किए जा रहे हैं। सदन मोहतम, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह बातें स्पष्ट हो चुकी हैं, तय हो चुकी हैं कि मुल्क कमजोर हो रहा है आतंकवाद से चाहे वह बेरुनी आतंकवाद हो या अंदरुनी आतंकवाद हो, चाहे आई.एस.आई. का हाथ हो या दूसरे साम्राजी मुल्कों का हाथ हो। हिंदुस्तान की एकता टूट रही है या तो मुल्क में रहने वाले नादान दास्तों की लीडरशिप से या बाहर के आतंकवाद से। इस पर इतनी तफसीली गुफ्तगु हो चुकी है कि मजीद इसकी तफसील की अब मैं कोई जरुरत महसुस नहीं करता। गालिब जैसे फलसफी शायर ने एक बात कही थी।

"नजर लगे न कहीं उनके दस्त बाजू को
यह लोग क्यों मेरे जख्मे जिगर को देखते हैं।"

गालिब यह कहा रहा था कि मेरा जो जख्मे जिगर है उसे देखकर के लोग इस तह में पहुंचना चाहते हैं कि आखिर यह जख्म लगाया किसने? जब तह में पहुंचेंगे तो जख्म लगाने वाले की शक्ल भी सामने आ जाएगी। मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जिधर से भी समझिए एक दो जख्म नहीं सारा बदन मैं छलनी, दर्द बेचारा परेशान है कहां से उठे, किधर से बताऊं मैं आपको । हमारे मुल्क में सियासी आतंकवाद की कमी नहीं, धार्मिक आतंकवाद की कमी नहीं। सिर्फ आतंकवाद इसी का नाम नहीं है कि अगर लोगों को खान पान की सुविधा नहीं मिल रही है तो इसके बुनियाद पर वह देशद्रोही कार्य कर, यह बड़े शर्म की बात है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि लोगों का हक नहीं मिल रहा है। क्या वह लोग जिम्मेदार नहीं है जिनके हाथों में हुकूमत की चाबियां है और वह उन्हे हक देने के लिए तैयार नहीं होते क्या हुकूमत सिर्फ डंडा मार मार कर लोगों को सीधा करने का चलन सीखती है औऱ हुकूमत को यह रास्ता लोग सिखलाते हैं। क्या हुकूमत को डंडा मारने की जरुरत नहीं है, क्या हुकूमत को रास्ते पर लाने की जरुरत नहीं है, क्या हुकूमत की बईमानियों का नकाब उतारने की जरुरत नहीं है? मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूं कि मुल्क में चाहे सियासी आतंकवाद हो, चाहे धार्मिक आतंकवाद हो, चाहे इलाकाई आतंकवाद हो, चाहे जबानों बयान का आतंकवाद हो, चाहे जात और पात का आतंकवाद हो।

कोई ऐसा आतंकवाद नहीं है जो देश को कमजोर नहीं करता। हर रुख से आप देखिए, कहां कहां तक आप देखेंगे। क्या यह आतंकवाद देश के अंदर नहीं है कि देश की अदालत मैजूद है, कानून मौजूद है और इसी देश में देशभक्त होने का नारा लगाने वाले और दावा करने वाले कहते है कि हम देश का कानून मानेंगे। क्या इससे बढ़कर कोई आतंकवाद की मिसाल पेश की जा सकती है? जो लोग गर्दनें काट रहे हैं यकीनन वह आतंकवाद कररहे हैं औऱ उनकी निन्दा होनी चाहिए। मगर जो लोग नस्लों की गर्दन काट रहे हैं अपने गलत विचार की बुनियाद पर, क्या यह उनका आतंकवाद हिंदुस्तान को तबाह औऱ बरबाद नहीं कर रहा है? इसलिए मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि किसी तरह का आतंकबाद हो हर आतंकवाद पर हमारे हाउस में खुलकर चर्चा होनी चाहिए और हर आतंकवादी को बे लागाम होने से रोकने के लिए कानून की जंजीरों में बांध देना जरुरी है।

चाहे वह आई.एस.आई. हो, चाहे अंदरुनी आतंकवाद हो, चाहे धार्मिक आतंकवाद हो, चाहे वह राजनीतिक आतंकवाद हो, यही वह आतंकवाद हैं जिसकी वजह से देश तबाह और बरबाद हो जाता है।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश): चाहे वह लोक सभा में हो।

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी: किसी भी सभा में हो मेरे भाई, यह बहुत बुरी चीज है। इसको हंसी और मजाक में हमें नहीं टालना चाहिए बल्कि गंभीरता से इसको लेना चाहिए। अब आखिरी बात मैं कहना चाहूंगा यदि आप इजाजत दें कि आई.एस.आई. का मैटर क्यों छोड़ दिया?....(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री रामदेव भंडारी (बिहार): चाहे अयोध्या में हो।

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी: अयोध्या में आतंकवाद हो चाहे दुनिया में आतंकवाद हो, आतंकवाद तो आतंकवाद है। मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि आई.एस.आई. कीजो बात चली थी, वह बात अब बहुत पीछे चली गई है औऱ आतंकवाद की कुछ दूसरी वजहें सामने आने लगीं है। तो मेरा अर्ज करनेका मतलब है कि आई.एस.आई. पाकिस्तान की एक एजेंसी है जो छुपके नहीं बल्कि छपके हमारे देश के हितों को शारद करने का काम कर रही है। क्यों हुकूमत चूड़ियां पहने हुए हैं हाथ में? क्यों हुकूमत खड़ी नहीं होती मर्दानगी के साथ? क्यों नहीं हुकूमत चुनौती देती पाकिस्तान को? इतने दिनों से देश के अंदर पाकिस्तान अगर इस तरह की बेहुदगी कर रहा है, उस बेहुदगी को खत्म करने के लिए आखिर सरकार ने कोई योजना बनाई? बह बेहूदगी खत्म करने की सरकार में हिम्मत नहीं है, न वह योजना बना रही है। योजना क्या बनाती है? कशमीर के मासूम लोग दो दोहरा अजाब का शिकार हैं, एक तरफ आतंकवादी उनके घर में घुसते हैं और घुसने के बाद कहते हैं कि खाना बनाओं वरना मार डालेंगे। उनके बाल बच्चो की हत्या कर देते हैं। वह बेचारा खामोशी के साथ उनको खाना खिला रहा है और वे जब खाना खा कर चले जाते हैं तो हमारी फोर्स पहुंचती है। पता यह चला कि तुम्हारे यहां आतंकवादियों ने खाना खाया है। अब आतंकवादियों को खाना न खिलाए गरीब कशमीरी तो मारा जाए। फोर्स पहुंची कि तुमने उसके खाना क्यों खिलाया? उसके बाद उसको फोर्स मार रही है।

"खुदा बन्दा तेरे ये सादा दिल बन्दे किधर जाएं?"

आखिर ऐसे लोगों को आप देश के साथ कैसे जोड़ेंगे? आप इन भावनाओं को समझिए, उस पोजिशन को समझिए कि एक आदमी नहीं चाहता है कि वह आतंकवादियों को साथ रहे मगर आतंकवादी इतनी ताकत और पावर का मालिक होता है कि आ करके उससे कहता है कि तमुहारे घर में हम आना चाहते हैं और यहां से हम योजना बनाएंगे। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि मेरा यह सुझाव है कि हुकूमत को गैर ममलिक को भी चुनौती देनी चाहिए जो ममालिक हमारे देश में इंटरफियर करके हमारे इत्तिहाद को औऱ हमारे एकता को तोड़ते हैं। दसूरी बात हुकूमत अपनी नाअहली और गैर जिम्मेदाराना हरकतों पर नजर डाले ताकि इस तरह की बातें पैदा न होने पाएं। तीसरी बात कानून को न मानने का ऐलान करने वालों के खिलाफ अमली कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए। जो लोग कानून की प्रतिष्ठा को दावं पर लगा कर हिंदुस्तान के दस्तूर को चैलेंज देते हैं, दरअसल वही असल मुजरिम हैं और उन्हें मुजरिमों की शाह पाकर इलाकाई जुर्म पनपता है, बढ़ता है। मैं समझता हूं कि गवर्नमेंट इसके ऊपर संजीदगी के साथ गौर करेगी और मर्ज को खत्म करने का इलाज करेगी। आप फोड़ों का इलाज मत कीजिए बल्कि उस खराब खून का इलाज कीजिए जिस खराब खून की बुनियाद पर फोड़े जिस्म पर पैदा होते हैं, शुक्रिया।

سے آگاہ کرایا ہے۔بات چلی تھی آئی۔ایس۔آئی۔جی کے اورآئی۔ایس۔آئی سے چل کراندرونی آتنکواد پرچل کرمرکوزہوگئی ہے۔اس کا صاف مطلب یہ ہے کہ باہرکی طاقتیں ملک کوکمزورکرنے کے لئے ہمارے ملک کی غریبی اورہمارے ملک کی کمزوری کا فائدہ اٹھاتی ہیں۔انہیں کے ساتھ ساتھ ممبران پارلےمنٹ کی تقریروں کی روشنی میں یہ بات بھی صاف طورپرمحسوس کی جارہی ہے کہ ملک کے آرتھک مسائل،ایجوکیشنل پرابلم،روڈسڑکیں اورعلاقوں کی دی ہوئی دھن راشی کی کمی،یہ بھی داخلی طورپرآتنکواد کا سبب بنی ہے تو خارجی طورپرآتنکودا ہمارے ملک میں پھیلایا جارہا ہے اورداخلی طورپر بھی ہمارے ملک کے نوجوان ہمارے دیش کے ساتھ غیر مطمئن نظرآرہے ہیں۔ساتھ ساتھ ہی ساتھ و جے ملہوترہ صاحب نے اس سوال کواٹھاتے ہوئے جس طرح کا ڈاٹا دیا ہے میں یقین کے ساتھ اس بات کوکہہ سکتا ہوں کہ آج کے دن ہمارے ہاؤس میں اس طرح کاڈاٹانہیں جیسی شخصیت دے سکتی ہے،اس لئے کہ انہیں جوذرائع حاصل ہیں،شایدعام ممبران پارلیمنٹ کووہ ذرائع

{**مولانا عبیداللہ خاں اعظمی**}†

"بہار" شکریہ!صدرمحترم،آج ہاؤس میں شارٹ ڈیوریشن ڈسکشن کے ذریعہ نارتھ ایسٹ اوراسکے ساتھ ساتھ ملک کے دیگرحصوں میں آتنکواد کے ذریعہ جنمے ہوئے کوکرموں سے ہندوستان کی حیثیت اورگریما کوداغدار ہونے کا یاکرنے کا جوچلن بن گیا ہے اس حساس مسئلے کے حل کے لئے بہت ہی حساس طریقے سے ہمارے ساتھیوں نے اس مسئلے کویہاں اٹھایا ہے۔جوخاص بات اب سامنے آئی ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ منی پور،ناگالینڈ،میزورم،تریپورہ اوراس طرح کے نارتھ ایسٹ کے دیگرعلاقوں میں دیش دورہ کا ایک واتاورن پیداہوگیا ہے۔ملک کے ساتھ غداری نہ صرف یہ کہ اس ملک کی تباہی کا پیش خیمہ بنتی ہے بلکہ ملک میں رہنے والے ذمہ دارلوگوں کے لئے بھی نہایت ہی قابل شرم بات ہے کہ ملک کے کچھ لوگ غداری کی راہ پرچل کھڑے ہوتے ہیں۔نارتھ ایسٹ سے آئے ہوئے ممبران پارلیمنٹ نے بہت ہی تفصیل کے ساتھ اپنے علاقے کا جائزہ انہیں بنیاد پرلیتے ہوئے ہاؤس کووہاں کے حالات

†[]Transilteration in Arabic Script

والے کی شکل بھی سامنے آجائے گی۔میں آپ سے یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جدھر سے بھی سمجھئے۔

ایک دوزخم نہیں سارا بدن ہے چھلنی
دردبیچارہ پریشاں ہے کہاں سے اٹھے کدھر سے بتاؤں میں

آپ کوہمارے ملک میں سیاسی آتنکواد کی کمی نہیں،دھارمک آتنکواد کی کمی نہیں، صرف آتنک واد اسی کانام نہیں ہے کہ اگرلوگوں کوکھان پان کی سہولیت نہیں مل رہی ہے تواس کی بنیاد پروہ دیش دروہی کاکام کریں،یہ بڑے شرم کی بات ہے۔میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ لوگوں کا حق نہیں مل رہا ہے۔کیا وہ لوگ ذمہ دار نہیں ہیں۔جنکے ہاتھوں میں حقوق کی چابیاں ہیں اوروہ انہیں حق دینے کے لئے تیارنہیں ہوتے؟کیا حکومت صرف ڈنڈا مارمارکرلوگوں کوسیدھاکرنے کا چلن سکھاتی ہے اورحکومت کویہ راستہ لوگ سکھاتے ہیں،کیاحکومت کوڈنڈا مارنے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے،کیا حکومت کوراستہ پرلانے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے،کیا حکومت کی بے ایمانیوں کا نقاب اتارنے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے؟میںآپ سے یہ کہنا چاہتاہوں کہ ملک میں چاہے سیاسی آتنکوادہو،چاہے دھارمک آتنکوادہو،چاہے علاقائی آتنکوادہو،

حاصل نہیں ہیں۔یہ کتنی تشویش ناک بات ہے کہ آتنکواد کے ذریعہ ملک میں ہماری سرحدوں کے محافظوں کے مارا جانا،آرمی کا ماراجانا،بارڈرسیکورٹی فورس کا تہہ تیغ ہونا،اوریہ سارے ڈاٹا بہت ہی ذمہ داری کے ساتھ ہاؤس کوپیش کئے جارہے ہیں۔

صدرمحترم،میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ باتیں واضح ہوچکی ہیں، طے ہوچکی ہیں کہ ملک کمزورہورہا ہے آتنکواد سے،چاہے وہ بیرونی آتنکواد ہویا اندرونی آتنکوادہو،چاہے،آئی،ایس، آئی ۔کاہاتھ ہویا دوسرے سامراجی ملکوں کا ہاتھ ہو۔ہندوستان کی ایکتاٹوٹ رہی ہے یا توملک میں رہنے والے نادان دوستوں کی لیڈر شپ سے یاباہرکے آتنکواد سے۔اس پراتنی تفصیلی گفتگوہوچکی ہے کہ مزیداس کی تفصیل کی اب میں ضرورت محسوس نہیں کرتا۔غالب جیسے فلسفی شاعرنے ایک بات کہی تھی:

نظرلگے نہ کہیں ان کے دست بازوکو
یہ لوگ کیوں میرے زخم جگرکودیکھتے ہیں

غالب یہ کہہ رہا تھا کہ میرا جوزخم جگر ہے ا سے دیکھکر کے لوگ اس تہہ میں پہنچنا چاہتے ہیں کہ یہ آخرزخم لگایاکسنے؟جب تہہ میں پہنچیں گے توزخم لگانے

آتنکواد ہے جسکی وجہ سے دیش تباہ اوربربادہوجاتا ہے۔

شری سنگھ پرےہ گوتم: چاہے وہ لوک سبھا ہو۔

مولانا عبیداللہ خاں اعظمی:کسی سبھا میں ہومیرے بھائی، یہ بہت بری چیز ہے ۔اسکوہنسی مذاق میں نہیں ٹالنا چاہئے بلکہ گمبھیرتا سے اسکولینا چاہئے۔اب آخری بات میں کہنا چاہوں گا اگرآپ اجازت دیں کہ آئی۔ایس۔آئی۔ کا میٹرکیوں چھوڑدیا۔۔۔"مداخلت"۔۔۔۔}

شری رام دیوبھنڈاری: چاہے ایودھیا میں ہو۔

مولانا عبیداللہ خاں اعظمی:ایودھیا میں آتنکواد ہو،چاہے دنیا میں آتنکواد ہو،آتنکواد توآتنکواد ہے۔میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آئی۔ایس۔آئی۔ کی جوبات چلی تھی وہ بات اب بہت پیچھے چلی گئی ہے اورآتنکواد کی کچھ دوسری وجہیں سامنے آنے لگی ہیں۔تومیراعرض کرنے کا مطلب ہے کہ آئی۔ایس۔آئی۔پاکستان کی ایجنسی ہے جوچھپکے نہیں بلکہ چھپکے ہمارے دیش کے ہتوں کوبلکہ چھپکے ہمارے دیش کے ہتوں کوغارت کرنے کا کام کررہی ہے۔کیوں

چاہے زبان و بیان کا آتنکواد ہو،چاہے ذات وپات کا آتنکواد ہو،کوئی ایسا آتنکواد نہیں ہے جودیش کوکمزور نہیں کرتا ہررخ سے آپ دیکھئے،کہاں کہاں تک آپ دیکھیں گے۔کیا یہ آتنکواد دیش کے اندر نہیں ہے،کہ دیش کی عدالت موجود ہے،قانون موجود ہے اوراسی دیش میں دیش بھگت ہونے کا نعرہ لگانے والے اوردعوی کرنے والے کہتے ہیں کہ ہم دیش کا قانون نہیں مانیں گے۔کیا اس سے بڑھکر کوئی آتنکواد کی مثال پیش کی جاسکتی ہے؟جولوگ گردنیں کاٹ رہے ہیں یقینا وہ آتنکواد کررہے ہیں اورانکی نندا ہونی چاہئے۔ مگرجولوگ نسلوں کی گردن کاٹ رہے ہیں اپنے غلط وچارکی بنیاد پر،کیا یہ ان کا آتنکواد ہندوستان کوتباہ وبرباد نہیں کررہا ہے؟اس لئے میں آپ سے یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کسی طرح کا آتنکواد ہو، ہرآتنکواد پرہمارے ہاؤس میں کھل کرچرچا ہونی چاہئے، اورہرآتنکوادی کوبے لگام ہونے سے روکنے کے لئے قانون کی زنجیروں میں باندھ دیناضروری ہے۔چاہے وہ آئی۔ایس۔آئی۔ہو،چاہے اندرونی آتنکواد ہو،چاہے بیرونی آتنکواد ہو،چاہے وہ راجنیتک آتنکواد ہو، یہی وہ

آخر ایسے لوگوں کوآپ دیش کے ساتھ کیسے جوڑیں گے؟آپ ان بھاوناؤں کو سمجھئے،آپ اس پوزیشن کوسمجھئے کہ ایک آدمی یہ نہیں چاہتا کہ آتنکوادیوں کے ساتھ رہے مگرآتنکوادی اتنی طاقت اورپاورکامالک ہوتا ہے کہ آکرکے اس سے کہتا ہے کہ تمہارے گھرمیں ہم آنا چاہتے ہیں اوریہاں سے ہم یوجنا بنائیں گے۔میں عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ میرایہ سجھاؤ ہے کہ حکومت کوبھی چنوتی دینی چاہئے۔ جوممالک ہمارے دیش میں انٹرفیئرکرتے ہیں ہمارے اتحادکواورہماری ایکتاکوتوڑتے ہیں۔دوسری بات حکومت اپنی نااہلی اورغیرذمہ دارانہ حرکتوں پرنظر ڈالے تاکہ اس طرح کی باتیں پیدانہ ہونے پائیں،تیسری بات قانون کونہ ماننے کا اعلان کرنے والوں کے خلاف عملی کارروائی ہونی چاہئے۔جولوگ قانون پرتشٹھا کوداؤپرلگا کرہندوستان کے دستورکوچیلنج دیتے ہیں دراصل وہ ہی اس کے مجرم ہیں۔اورانہیں مجرموں کی شہہ پاکرعلاقائی جرم پنپتا ہے، بڑھتا ہے۔میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ گورنمنٹ اس کے اوپر سنجیدگی کے ساتھ غورکریگی اورمرض کوختم کرنے کا علاج کریگی۔آپ پھوڑوں کا علاج مت کیجئے بلکہ اس خراب خون

حکومت چوڑیاں پہنے ہوئے ہے ہاتھ میں،کیوں حکومت کھڑی نہیں ہوتی مردانگی کے ساتھ،کیوں نہیں حکومت دیتی پاکستان کو اتنے دنوں سے دیش کے اندرپاکستان اگراس طرح کی بیہودگی کررہا ہے اس بیہودگی کوختم کرنے کے لئے آخرسرکارنے کوئی یوجنا بنائی؟وہ بیہودگی ختم کرنے کی سرکارمیں ہمت نہیں ہے،نہ وہ یوجنا بنارہی ہے،یوجنا کیا بناتی ہے؟کشمیر کے معصوم لوگ جودوہرے عذاب کاشکارہیں،ایک طرف آتنکواد ان کے گھرمیں گھستے ہیں اورگھسنے کے بعد کہتے ہیں کہ کھانا بناؤورنہ مارڈالیں گے۔انکے بال بچوں کی ہتیا کردیتے ہیں،بیچارے خاموشی کے ساتھ ان کوکھانا کھلا رہا ہے اوروہ جب کھانا کھا کرچلے جاتے ہیں توہماری فورس پہنچتی ہے،پتہ یہ چلا کہ تمہارے یہاں آتنکوادی نے کھانا کھایا ہے،اب آتنکوادیوں کوکھانا نہ کھلائے غریب کشمیری تومارا جائے فورس پہنچی کہ تم نے اسکوکھانا کیوں کھلایا؟اس کے بعداسکوفورس ماررہی ہے۔

خداوندا تیرے یہ سادہ دل بندے کدھرجائیں

کا علاج کیجئے جس خراب خون کی بنیاد

پرپھوڑے جسم پرپیداہوتے ہیں۔شکریہ۔

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम): श्री आन्वार्ड एल-नांग्त्डु...अनूपस्थित। श्री रामदेव भंडारी।

श्री रामदेव भंडारी: धन्यवाद उपसभाध्यक्ष जी। पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों की गंभीर स्थिति के बारे में सभी माननीय सदस्यों ने गंभीर चिन्ता व्यक्त की है। ये सात राज्य जिनको हम "सेवन सिस्टर्स" कहते हैं, प्राकृतिक साधनों से भरपूर हिंदुस्तान का बहुत ही खूबसूरत इलाका है मगर आज यह खूबसूरत इलाका आतंकवादियों और आलगाववादियों के चंगुल में फंस चुका है। प्रो. मल्होत्रा ने जब इस चर्चा की शुरूआत की थी तो उन्होंने आंकड़े देकर यह कहा था कि हत्याओं का, अपहरण का और कई दूसरे तरह के अपराधों का सिलसिला वहां जारी है। गृह मंत्री जी ने 3 जून को राज्य सभा के एक प्रश्न के जवाब में कुछ आंकड़े दिये थे कि पिछले 6 महीने में 254 सिविलियनों और 120 सुरक्षा बल के लोगों की हत्या हुई है। एक दूसरे प्रश्न के जवाब में उन्होंने कहा कि 1.1.98 से 1.7.98 तक बोडो हिसा में मारे गये व्यक्तियों की संख्या-सिविलियन-142, सुरक्षाकर्मी-8 और जातीय हिसा में मारे गये व्यक्ति 56 हैं। कुल मिलाकर स्थिति स्पष्ट है। उन राज्यों को इस सरकार को एक विशेष योजना के अंतर्गत लेना होगा। बड़ी प्रसन्नता की बात है कि यूनाइटेड फ्रंट के भी प्रधान मंत्री वहां गये थे और वाजपेयी जी ने 15 अप्रैल, 1998 को गोहाटी में एक प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेस में कहा था कि "मैं उन सभी को, जो मैत्री के पथ से भटक गये हैं-चाहे असम में हों या पूर्वोत्तर अन्य राज्यों में-आमंत्रित करें। हमारी सरकार शांन्ति की बहाली हेतु बातचीत करने के लिए वचनबद्धहै।" डिफेंस मिनिस्टर श्री जार्ज फर्नांडिस साहब यहां बैठे हुए हैं। उन्होंने भी कहा था कि असम के साथ-साथ मणिपुर के कुछ उग्रवादी संगठनों के साथ वह संपर्क स्थापित करने में सफल हुए हैं। उनसे बातचीत जल्दी ही आरम्भ की जाएगी। और कई मंत्रियों ने उन क्षेत्रों का दौरा इस उद्देश्य से किया कि वहां शांति और व्यवस्था कायम की जाए। वहां के अलगाववादी तत्व जो बहुत सक्रिय हैं, उन तत्वों को नियंत्रण में लाया जाए। महोदय, हमारे दूसरे माननीय सदस्यों की तरह मैं भी महसूस करता हूं कि वह जो सात राज्य हैं, उनकी जो भौगोलिक स्थिति है, उस स्थिति के अनुसार देश के अन्य हिस्सों के साथ संवादहीनता की स्थिति बनी। जंगल, पहाड़, नदियों से घिरा हुआ वह क्षेत्र है। इनफ्रास्ट्रकर की कमी उस क्षेत्र में है। वहां रेल लाइन नहीं है, सड़क नहीं है, हवाई मार्ग नहीं है और इसकी वजह से विकास का काम भी रूका है। और विकास का काम जब रूका तो पढ़े-लिखे नौजवान बेरोजगार हुए। भौगोलिक स्थिति की वजह से कई प्रदेशों में आंतकवाद पैदा करने में विदेशियों ने भी साजिश की है। महोदय, इस संबंध में हमारी पूर्ववर्ती सरकार को और इस सरकार को भी बड़ी चिंता हुई। मैं दो-तीन बातों की और आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम): दो-तीन नहीं, एक बात कहकर आप समाप्त करिए। समय सीमा का भी ख्याल रखें।

श्री रामदेव भंडारी: एक ही बात के तीन भाग हैं। एक तो कम्यूनिकेशन, दूसरा इनफ्रास्ट्रकर पर ध्यान दिया जाए। एक महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि इसका राजनैतिक समाधान निकालना सबसे आवश्यक है। जो भटके हुए लोग हैं, जो भटके हुए नौजवान हैं, उनके साथ मिलकर, विचार-विमर्श करने की आवश्यकता है। इस संबंध में गृह मंत्रालय की भी एक रिपोर्ट है। गृह कार्य संबंधी समिति ने कोट किया था, उसकी कुछ पंक्तियां आपको सुनाता हूं "विद्रोह की समस्या का समाधान केवल ताकत द्वारा नहीं हो सकता। इनका आपसी विश्वास और सगझ के महौल में विभिन्न विद्रोही दलों के साथ संवादों और बातचीत करके समाधान ढूंढ़ना होगा। विद्रोह का स्थायी समाधान सिर्फ राजनैतिक बातचीत के जरिए ही संभव हो सकता है।" उन राज्यों के लोग हमारे भाई हैं, रास्ते से भटक गये हैं। सरकार ने पहल की है। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि आगर हम गंभीरतापूर्वक इस पहल को आगे बढ़ाएंगे, उन्हेंमुख्य धारा में शामिस करने का प्रयास करेंगे तो वह निश्चित रूप से मुख्य धारा में शामिल होंगे। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI DRUPAD BORGOHAIN (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak. Already, three speakers from Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura have spoken here and they have expressed certain sentiments "of the region very correctly. At the very outset, I have to admit this fact. Sir, we have seen that in

the month of June this year, subversive activities such as bomb blasts to destroy the bridges on the railway lines and roadways, to cut off the lifeline to Assam and other States of the North-East, were perpetrated by some of the Bodo militants like Bodo Liberation Tigers. These incidents had occurred in the Bodo Autonomous Council areas.

In the last few years, some other subversive activities, killings, extortions and abductions have been perpetrated by the ULFA militants or insurgents. Some new groups of militants like the Minorities Liberation Tigers of Assam, the Bengali Tigers Force, the Birsa Munda Force and so on and so forth are also perpetrating certain activities which are against peace in the region. Thus, once peaceful Assam, now becomes a restless State where different types of unlawful activities are occurring. On the other hand, unrest in Nagaland was there since independence. Now, the militant organisations are willing for a negotiated settlement. There are ethnic troubles in Manipur. Road blockades are there. A sense of insecurity is also there. Insurgency was there in Mizoram also. But the problem was solved through negotiated settlement. Now, the State is more or less peaceful. In Tripura, the problem of ethnic violence is there. Insurgency is also there. These problems are required to be solved. Now, what is the root cause of these turmoils in the North-East? The first and foremost cause is related to the uneven economic development of the region, its backwardness in relation to other parts of the country. Though the region is rich in vast natural resources like oil, coal, minerals, water resources and fertile soil for agriculture, the development was very poor in the field of industry and agriculture. On the other hand, the problem of unemployment is very grave which could have been eradicated had the development in industry and agriculture been taken up seriously. Assam has a certain amount of industrial development with oil, coal, tea and some other industries. But other States are practically devoid of industries. People of this region believe that the States are badly neglected by the various Central Governments. So, the feeling of discontent among them is very high. Everybody, knows that the people of this region do not get anything, whether it is industry, whether it is rail or roadways extension or whether it is construction of bridges over the river Brahmaputra or other rivers, without a militant movement. The water resources were also not tapped properly to generate power, to facilitate irrigation and to control floods. The Brahmaputra Board was constituted by an Act of Parliament in 1981. Even after eighteen years of its existence, there is not much advance in harnessing the water resources of the river Brahmaputra and Barak. This negligence on the part of the Central Government is one of the root causes that makes the soil fertile for subversive activities. Secondly, ethnic and tribal problems, infiltration problems, are also very serious. Bodo problems, other tribal problems, the Assamese nationality question, linguistic and religious minority problems are also there. Similarly, Bodo militants, ULFA militants, minority militants are very much there. On such fertile soil, the ISI-activities are increasing . The Government must give us information on the magnitude of this menace. They could penetrate only because all these problems are there. Only, if these problems are solved, such evils can be eradicated. Without this fertile soil, they could not have penetrated there. So, rapid development work can help in eradicating such evils. For this, every concerned organisation should be brought to the negotiating table. What is being done by the Home Ministry in this regard? We are in the dark. Can the Ministry just show a gesture by withdrawing the unified command for a short period to create a congenial atmosphere for holding negotiations with ULFA? Can the Home

Minister give us a promise that the Government would be serious on these points?

Without eradicating the root causes, it will be very difficult to bring peace to Assam and also to other parts of the region. These problems are not merely the problems concerning law and order, but they are also connected with the rapid development of the State; they are also connected with the ethnic problems, i.e. Bodo, Rabha, Tiwa and Miching problems. They arc also connected with the Assamese nationality question. They arc connected with the protection of linguistic and religious mintorities. They are connected with the fulfilment of the aspirations of aborigins, tribals and other autochthonous tribes.

The Government must be serious about it. Then only can the problems be solved. Otherwise, everybody will be groping in the dark.

SHRI -S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving mc an opportunity to speak on an important subject, i.e. insurgency that is taking place in the North-East. In other words, I can say that we are discussing here about the unity and mtegrity of the nation. Therefore, I feel that it is one of the very important subjects which we are dealing with. I don't want to go into'the subjects which have already been dealt by others. However, I want to mention some important issues which are confronting them. Firstly, there is a crisis of cultural identity in the North-East. They have to look into whether they "have addressed that.problems in a proper manner during the last five decades. Secondly, for youths, . there are less employment opportunities. This is second issue. They are having less employment opportunities because the infrastructure has not been developed as it ought to have been.

Another thing is, in the Brahmaputra river there is' a potential for power generation of 27.000 MW. How much we have generated, how much is left out—this is not a party issue. We an not going to accuse the Government. Suppose there is ? mistake; all of us have to take the burden. Had we concentrated on the generation of power, the industries could have developed.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: (West Bengal): The quantity is 70,000 megawatts.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: He says 70,000 megawatts. I stand corrected. We have totally failed in that respect. When hydel power is available we arc going in for thermal power stations throughout the country. We are not concentrating on hydel power. This is the second thing.

Another point is the method of approach. For example, when the Nagas surrendered, I'andit Juwaharla] .Nehru himself attended the ceremony. Panditji went there. When an extrimist was surrendering his arms he actually ki.ssed his weapon and put it before Panditji and shed tears. Panditji embraced him and asked him, "What do you want?". The gentleman, who surrendered the weapon, actually requested Panditji, "Please remove the word "surrender" from the statement. We feel offended." Immediately Panditji requested the officials to remove the word "surrender" and instead of that insert some proper word in the statement. Had this practice been continued further, what we are confronting today would have not been there. This is what I feel. When we are talking of the North-East some hon. Members from this side requested the Deputy Chairman to add the South of India also. Fortunately, the Deputy Chairman admitted that. *(Time bell)* ... You have to give me some more time, Sir. I used to speak only one or two minutes. As far as this issue is concerned, I am requesting you to give me five minutes. Please bear with me.

When we made this request they said that the ISI started all these things in

Tamil Nadu. At the outset itself I found that the issue was going to be politicised. When did this extremism start? For example, I will tell you some important instances. In 1992 the Hindu Munnani leader, Mr. Munisamy, was murdered in Rameswaram. The Vmayaka Chaturthi procession was attacked in the same year. *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Sir, theie is one point. I think what he is speaiing does not actually arise out of the notice or the topic which is being discussed.

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU (Pondicherry): He has taken permission of the Chair. *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Therefore, I think we will be creating a very bad precedent, if we have some subject admitted and we go on discussing some other subject. *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, you do one thing. When they raise the Tamil Nadu issue you kindly permit me to reply to that. In that case, I won't go into it now. *(Interruptions)* ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Please don't expand it. *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: I will do one thing. I will abide by your decision. If my friends raise an issue regarding Tamil Nadu, you kindly permit me. *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: There is no question of granting any permission. *(Interruptions)* ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MP. SALIM): The same rules apply to everybody. If you are not being allowed, nobody will be allowed. *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Sir, what is that? I couldn't follow you. *(Interruptions)* ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): I say that the same rules apply to everybody. The discussion is on the North-East. If you are not allowed to raise the question of South here, the others will also not be allowed. Let this discussion be on the North-East *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Okay, Mr. Vice-Chairman. In that case, I will abide by your decision. *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU (Karnataka): Sir, earlier the Deputy Chairman has allowed it. We, Mr. Rajagopal and I, have given notice exclusively about South. *(Interruptions)*

The Deputy Chairman said, "You can also mention about the South". *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Sir, there is a point of order. *(Interruptions)* ... I would like to know whether the rules permit it. If the rules permit it, you allow me. *(Interruptions)* ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): The Short Duration Discussion is a specific discussion on a specific topic. If you try to expand it, it will be expanded to cover every sphere. *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Sir, please allow me. The Deputy Chairman clearly mentioned that it should be within the rules, (I*ntenuptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: It is within the notice that is given by us. The rule says "the Mepiber who gives the notice". We have given notice. *(Interruptions)*... *I* am serious. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: No notice has been admitted. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: You need not argue. *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr.-Basu, please take your seat. *(Interruptions)*... Mr. Basu, will you please take your seat? *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Naidu, please take your seat. Several Members have given notices on several topics. In some of the notices they have asked for a discussion on the South, particularly Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh, together with the North-East. Now please refer to rule 17 on page 28 regarding Short Duration Discussion.

5.00 P.M.

This is A Handbook for members of Rajya Sabha. Para 17 says:

> "Any Member desirous of raising discussion on a matter of urgent public importance may give notice in writing...."

The Chairman has permitted the Short-Duration Discussion on North-East. Please don't expand it. *(Interruptions).*

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, Rule 176 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Council of States *says....(Interruptions).*

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Sir, 1 am on a point of order. *(Interruptions).*

THE VICE-CHIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Please don't dilute the issue. The discussion is on North-East. *(Interruptions).* Mr. Naidu, let me complete. The Short-Duration Discussion is on the grave situation arising out of increase in subversive activities in the North-East region of the country. It is listed in the List of Business. The Minister was also given notice on this topic.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, I am bringing two things to your notice. As per the List of Business some of the Members who have spoken, their names are not there. Those Members who liad given notice, they have not even been
called. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, you have referred to the List of Business. It is something surprising. Those who have given notice....*(Interruptions).*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Are you raising a point? Is this your submission?

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: This is one submission. My second point is this. Sir, you have referred to the Rule on Short-Duration Discussion. It says, '*Any Member desirous of raising a discussion on a matter of..."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): On a matter of, not on a number of issues.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, I have given notice only on one matter. I very well remember the rulings given on-Aypdhya, Libcrhan Commission and...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRl MD. SALIM): Mr. Naidu, please don't expand it. *(Interruptions).* What is your point of order?

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, you are not allowing me to make my submission.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Then why arc you referring to Ayodhya and all that? What is your point of order? Under which rule do you want to raise a point of order?

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Sir, he is challenging the Chair. *(Interruptions).*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Basu, take your scat. What is your point? You have already raised a point. You cannot go on raising points.

SHRl M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, you arc not allowing me to raise a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Plca.sc take your scat. *(Interruptions).* Please take your scat. You have made your point. Your point is, those Members have been called whose names are not there in the List of Business and those Members who have *givcl\..(Interruptions).* Let me dispose off all the points one by one. Mr. Naidu, you arc here for so many days. You arc not new now. You know that. You have raised a point why those Members were called whose names are not there in the List of Business. Your second point is those Members who had given notice

have not been called. When there is a Short-Duration Discussion, names are called party wise. Your party has given certain names. Other parties have also given some names. Prof. Malhotra raised this discussion because he was listed at number one. There are certain other names. We go by the list. Your party has given some names. This is an age-old practice in this House. Your party has given Shri Jaswant Singh's name also. Similarly, other parties have given $ome names. So those Members can speak within the allotted time. You cannot challenge it. We cannot change the rule all of a sudden. *(Interruptions).*

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): What is your point?

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, you are asking me to sit down.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): You are challenging the ruling of the Chair.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Who has challenged?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): I have said that Members can give a number of notices on a number of subjects... *(Interruptions).*

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, do I have a right to speak in the House? Do I have a right to raise a point of order or make a submission? Sir, you are directing me to sit down. *(Interruptions).* Last time also I heard an uncharitable remark that I don't know English. Is this the way in which the new Members should be treated in this House? *(Interruptions).*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): You are expanding it. You are expanding it too much. You have raised a point and I have disposed off your point.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, as a Member of this House I have got every right to....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): If you have any other point you can raise that.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, I would like to read out Rule 176. It says:

> "Any Member desirous of raising a discussion on a matter of urgent public importance may give notice in writing...."

I have given notice in writing on a matter of urgent public importance, not on so many issues.

Rule 176 further says:

> "....to the Secretary-General specifying clearly and precisely the matter to be raised:
>
> Provided that the notice shall be accompanied by an explanatory note stating reasons for raising a discussion on the matter in question;
>
> Provided further that the notice shall be supported by the signatures of at least two other Members."

I have given notice on a specific issue. I found my name in today's List of business. People from other political parties were asked to give their names. They have given their names. But I am not able to understand why a Member who has done some study, who has prepared himself, who has given notice, is not being given an opportunity to speak. If a Member, who has not even given notice according to rule 176, is given the opportunity, don't you think I have a right to ask and seek clarification in the House? I am concerned about ISI activities in the South. I gave notice.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Your point is over. You cannot make a submission on this. You raised a point, a valid point. *(Interruptions)* You referred to Rule 176. In fact, before you, when it was raised by other Members, I made a point that Members can give notices on a number of issues. Many Members can give notices. But then the hon. Chairman gives permission, identify-

ing one item. You are saying that your name is included in the List of Business. Nobody is disputing that. But then the List of Business also says that it is a discussion on subversive activities in the North-Eastem Region of the country. I am telling you this because previously also it was so. At that time also, you referred to your original notice. But the House is not conducted as per terms written in the notices of individual Members. It depends on admissibility by the Chair. I read in your notice that you have mentioned Kerala, Tamil Nadu, the North-East and so on. Everything is there. But now in the List of business it is mentioned that the discussion will be on the North-East. You need not go on referring to your original notice. The Chairman, in his wisdom, has identified the North-East for discussion.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I only want to make one submission. Sir. When I had raised the Point of Order, the hon. Chairman had said that all these things need not be mentioned in the daily List of Business. There should only be mention of a portion of it because it talces a lot of space. So, I am under the impression that I have given notice, it is admitted and I have mentioned about ISI activities in the South, but because of the constraints of space or whatever other constraints, it was not published. So, I thought when the House was discussing this and the Home Minister was present in the House, I would be given an opportunity. You may please recall that last time also, when there was this discussion, the notice had been given. The Chairman had directed that if we were interested in the discussion we had to give notices. That was the advice given by the Chairman. Shri Narendra Mohan was making his Special Mention. That being the case, you must also understand the background in which I have raised this issue. *(Interruptions).*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): But each time.... *(Interruptions)* Please. You cannot continue with this. If you want to know the background, you can again go to the Chairman. You can make your submission. But we shoiild not go back into the background every time and stop the discussion here. Secondly, as I told you repreatedly, some Members made a reference to Kashmir and other places also, which is allowed. The Chair was not wrong in saying that during your submissions, if you are allowed to speak by your party, you can make a reference to other points. But if you want to discuss Tamil Nadu, I cannot allow because the Short Duration Discussion is on the North-East. Utilising the opportunity of the presence of the hon. Home Minister here, you can bring in all the other States here. Shri Parag Chahha, please.

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम: उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। आप इसमें रेकार्ड देख कर उपसभापति कहोदया की रूलिंग पढ़ लीजिए **...(व्यवधान)...**

SHRI C. P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: No, no. Only refer to Tamil Nadu but don't go inside Tamil Nadu. That is the ruling she has given.

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम: जब यह मसला उठाया गया तो उपसभापति कहोदया ने यह कहा कि जब आप बोलें, इस पर बहस करें, तो आप इसको भी रेफर कर सकते हैं। **...(व्यवधान)...**

उपसभापति (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम): मैंने भी तो बोला कि जब आप बोलें तो रेफर कर सकते हैं। लेकिन आपका नाम ही नहीं पार्टी की तरफ से तो फिर बोलने का मौका कब आएगा। **...(व्यवधान)...**

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतमः मैं यह नहीं कह रहा **...(व्यवधान)...**

श्री एम. वेंकैया नायडः मेरा नाम है। अभी मेरा नाम है। **...(व्यवधान)...**

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद नाययडु): जिनका नाम आएगा वे बोलेंगे। अभी यह बोल रहे थे तो हमने मना किया कि तमिलनाडु वाले को मत लीजिए। आप जानते हैं कि इस पर डिसकशन होने से वह पूरा शिफ्ट हो जाएगा, फिर वह नॉर्थ-ईस्ट के ऊपर नहीं रहेगा। **...(व्यवधान)...**

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम: अब यह चीज़ अलग है। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Please. Don't derail the discussion now. Yes, Mr. Parag Chaliha.

SHRI FRAG CHALIHA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity. Let me introduce myself as a freedom fighter, and more particularly as one who suffered much in the country's independence, and who fought in Calcutta in respect of the first attempt to disturb the integrated Assam by what was known then as the Grouping.

At that time, when we became free, we rejoiced to the utmost. And after 50 years, when we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our Independence, I as a 76 year old child want to cry like a child. Why? The North-East has so far been neglected badly not only by the previous Governments, but even today I have the feeling, whenever some of us want to speak out, we are outnumbered by others; we are not given the chance to speak out; we are not given the chance to be heard. Therefore, it would not be too wrong if I say that the feeling of neglect, the feeling of some biggishness still exists not only in the wide world there, but here in this House itself.

Sir, in the last few months, the country has witnessed yet another spell of insurgency in the majority of States in the North-Eastern Region. Killings, in all about 400 people, not so far, but in the last few months, resulting in incalculable loss of property, culminating into killing of the 49-year old Tripura Health Minister, Mr. Bimal Sinha, and his bqrther Bidyut as also a senior advocate of the Guwahati High Court.

The inquiry has so far divulged a loss; it has to be gone into, not excluding even some political leaders giving a helping hand to the insurgents. A striking feature of the insurgency in the North-Eastern States has been the thoughtless manner in which the militants take to killing in the absence of a well-knit political set-up to guide their own insurgent activities. The killing is done in the name vaguely voiced separatist demands. Politicisation of problems by political parties is a bane which is eating into the vitals of all attempts at solving this multi-faceted problem of the region. Bodoland, recently, is on the war-path—recently means, for the last three, four, five years and vested interests are fanning this fire to further their own narrow interests about which I don't want to divulge much at the moment.

The ' recent Rajya Sabha elections in Assam confirmed earlier general belief/ allegation that a political figure of the State and a Minister of state in the Ministry of Home Affairs in early nineties has been patronising Bodo" militancy by providing them money and even supplying arms from another part of the country. The recent murder of an advocate, Surjit Mitra of the Guwahati High Court who allegdly collected huge amounts of money in the name of some Bodo militant groups, brings to surface the nexus between militancy and politics. The Home Minister must be having a lot of information after the inquiry is completed. That a militant violence will follow an election in Tripura and parts of Assam as sure as night follows day.

During its regime at the Centre, the particular party in power with a view to having political fortunes has actively helped insurgents to accelerate their activity following the Left Front's victory in Assembly elections in Tripura. The National Liberation Front of Tripura has struck. In this way things have been happening in the North-East, perhaps, without a concern that we should have shown so far. What is the root of all these? Deprivation, neglect, and growing unemployment. I repeat, growing unemployment is at the root of this despicable situation in the North-East. The sense of insecurity and deprivation has led to ethnic clashes of varying degrees in Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura

and Assam. Bodos are proud of their ancestral roots but a sense of xenphobia has also gripped them. In the recent past the Bodos have tried to invent enemies responsible for their perceived economic marginalisation. These are Santhals, Assamese, Muslims, Kochis, Rajbonshias and the Ncpalese and they have become targets of Bodo depredations. The main intention of the trigger-happy Bodo militants is to create terror and a sense of utter helplessness in the minds of the people.

Since of the efforts of the States and the Centre are not well co-ordinated and are haphazard, the results too are not worth priding. One common error is to treat the insurgency as a law and order problem. It is not only law and order problem. Nothing can be farther from the fact. Sir, I come from the North-East. I have some particular suggestions to make. *Ex-facie* it relates to law and order. Others and more significant ones relate to- economic development and tJie fear of being swarmed by the outsiders. The recent spurt in insurgency highlighted by the brutal murder of Bimal Sinha is a malady which cannot be treated symptomatically. A holistic treatment is the only panacea. I would like to list some of the measures which are essential to address ourselves to this serious problem of the North-Eastern region, (i) Economic development of the region: since the region has lagged far behind in the race of development, an intensive and time-bound package of development, better than the ones announced earlier by the three preceding and one reigning Prime Ministers, should be prepared and executed. Something like a Five Year Plan for the North Eastern region should be launched. The Industrial Policy announced in December, 1997 is yet to make a start, (ii) Greater autonomy to ethnic groups: with a view to nurturing ethnic chauvnism and aspirations, greater autonomy to these groups should be extended instead of further balkanisation of the region, as appears to be in the minds of the powers that be. Scottish-like autonomy may, perhaps, be examined, (iii) Modernisation Of police force: since the seven States do have a law and order problem, it is necessary to equip the police of all the States of the region with modern tools of fighting the insurgents. Substantive recurring and non-recurring grants must be provided by the Centre. I am very sorry to say that, so far, in Assam at least for policing insurgent activities, the Assam Government had been trying to get Rs. 660 crores. Out of which, only Rs. 131 crores has been given. It is generally not known that as a result of the vast deficiency with Assam Government's limited income, it has been burdened with vast loan of Rs. 6,000 crores. As a result of which, no developmental works have been possible to be taken up. It is not even enough for subsistence.

Now, I refer to the reimbursement of expenditure incurred by the State Governments in combating the insurgency. Sir, a separate Ministry for the North-East, a very feasible proposition, should be set up under the charge of a Cabinet Minister for speedy development of this region economically, industrially, culturally, socially and scientifically keeping in view its special needs, aspirations and problems and the ever increasing backwardness.

Sir, faithful implementation of the Assam Accord entered into between the then Prime Minister of India, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the Assam leadership still remains to be done. The Government has to looic into the non-implementation of the new industrial- policy - launched in December.

Another area, as some hon. friends over here have already said earlier, is, there is a lack of communication. Sir, I would like to say one thing that Assam produces oil and the first refinery in Asia was launched there about 100 years ago; that Assam where oil was struck about 30 or 40 years back, a big pipeline has been laid so that the oil drilled in Assam could

be refined at 1,700 miles away at Ba-rauni, that Assam is the first nail in the coffin of Assam's backwardness.

About the growing unemployment I would like to say, that unemployment has been growing like an eccentric circle in the region. Sir, lakhs of applicants applied for a few hundred posts of teachers in Assam and on the other hand a major percentage of available vacancies are denied to the sons and daughters of the soil by the so-called "outsiders" who control the industry and commerce.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRl MD. SALIM): Please conclude.

SHRI PARAG CHALIHA: Yes, Sir. The last but not the least is the perennial floods due to siltage of the Brahmaputra iilmost pcrniancmly destroying the topography of two or three districts, particularly Dcmogi where so far in this floods season more than 60 lives have gone.

About lack of market, it was none other than Mahatma Gandhi who said that the women of Assam wear dreams and embroil their love in their garments. By saying so, he included almost all the States of the present North-Eastern Region. But, in Assam, even "Gamocha" which is almost a national dress for the Assamese, comes from Tamil Nadu, Karnataka or even from Haryana and other States. Sir, lack of market, lack of communication is the result of total lack of opportunities for the educated unemployed youth. These are some of the issues which have to be attended to. I, therefore, take this opportunity to implore my learned colleagues, be a little kind towards Assam. It-was not our fault but it was a fault of the impercalist Britishers.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Please conclude.

SHRI PARAG CHALIHA: I am concluding. Therefore, through you, I wanted to make an appeal and possibly, as one of the oldest men in the House, as I said earlier, I feci like crying and say that you must not treat Assam and the other North-Eastern States in all respects inferior to you, always depending upon your sympathy and kindness. We are not of that type. Sir, this reminds me of a poem of a noble man, Gurudev Tagore. he said,

"He mor durbhaga dcsh
Jader karecha apaman
Apmanc hotey habey Jahadcr
Sobar Soman manushcr
adhikarey Banchita kareche
jare sanmukhey darayc
rekhey Jabu koley day nai
sthan Apunancy, hotey
hobcy Jahadcr Sobar Soman"

"Ye my luckless land
arise you must from this
morass of depreciation
And be at par with those
who caused this degradation.
Those who snatch away
the basic rights of Human being,
who keep you standing denying
a scat in their lap.
arise you must from the morass
of abject neglect and denial.
And become equal to those
who despise thee.

A time will come when those people who have degenerated you, insulted you, will not insult you, will not deteriorate you, will not neglect you, but you will have to rise to be equal to anybody else in the whole country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Now, Shri Margabandu. Your party has been allotted two minutes.

SHRI R. MARGABANDU (Tamil Nadu): Sir, poverty and unemployment seem to be the main reasons for militancy in the North-East region. About 70 highly motivated insurgent organizations are functioning thefe. Unfortunately, these militants are used by politicians to achieve their objectives. There is a clear nexus between politicians and militants. ISI plays a predominant role in launching and supporting these groups to destabilise and weaken the Government. The National Security Act is also there, but

none of the State Governments are willing to invoke this Act because they fear that their political career will be affected. The economy in the North-East region is deteriorating year by year. Therefore, I appeal to you just like Jammu & Kashmir there should be a separate Minister to administer North-Eastern States. The ex-Prime Minister, Shri Deve Gowda, had announced a package of Rs. 6,100 crores for development of North-East region. ...*(Interruptions)*..:.
I am happy to know that this Government is also coming forward with the package system.

Then, insurgency of ULFA and Bodo is not limited to the North-East region, they spread all over India. They have extended their activities to Palayamkottai in Tirunelveli also ...*(Interruptions)*...

Sir, when insurgency or militancy takes the upper hand and destabilises the country itself, then naturally the Central Government must invoke Article 356 ...*(Time-Bell)*...

Sir, Article 356, sub-clause 3, needs amendment ... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Conclude with this sentence. I can allow you only one sentence.

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: Sir, Article 356 (3) says, "Every Proclamation under this article shall be laid before each House of Parliament and shall, except where it is a Proclamation revoking a previous Proclamation, cease to operate at the expiration of two months unless before the expiration of that period it has been approved by resolutions of both Houses of Parliament." For implementing Article 356, Resolutions by both the Houses of Parliament are unnecessary. It is the duty of the Central Government to ensure that every State functions within the constitutional framework ...*(Time-Bell)*... If there is a breakdown of constitutional machinery and the Central Government is helpless because it has no majority in Rajya Sabha, I say a Resolution by Lok Sabha itself is sufficient. Just as the Finance Bill does not require any recommendation from the Council of States, in the case of invoking Article 356 also a Resolution from the Rajya Sabha is unnecessary. So, it needs amendment.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Before I call upon the next speaker, as per the list of business at 5.30 p.m., we are supposed to take up the Half-An-Hour Discussion regarding areas under acute poverty. But, since the discussion on North-East is going on, and only two or three speakers are left, if the House allows, then we can dispose of this Short Duration Discussion together with the Minister's reply and then we can take up the Half-An-hour Discussion.

श्री संजय निरुपम (महाराष्ट्र): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, उत्तर पूर्व के राज्यों में जो उग्रवाद की दशा है उस पर बहुत सारे वरिष्ठ सदस्यों ने बड़े अच्छे विचार दिए हैं। मेरे पास सिर्फ दो-तीन मिनट हैं मैं पर अपने विचार रखूंगा। मेरा पहला पहलू-राज्यों की मजबूरियों से जुड़ा हुआ है। मेरे पास होम एफ्फेयर्स कमेटी की रिपोर्ट है, पहले उस रिपोर्ट को मैं कोट करता हूं और फिर उसके बाद मैं बताऊंगा कि कहां समस्याएं हैं। इस रिपोर्ट में लिखा हुआ है कि-

"ULFA, Bodo Security Force and NSCN have joined hands recently and have a safe sanctuary in Bhutan for training and for their operation in the bordering areas of Assam and in the Bodo Autonomous Council area, in particular. When the State Government asked for Centre's permission to allow the Assam Police and Para-military forces to enter Bhutan, apprehend the extremists and destroy their camps there, it was told not to enter Bhutan as their border being an international border, it was the problem of the Centre to taks care. The State Government is, therefore, Jielpless on this count."

महोदय, यह बहुत सही है कि जो अंतर्राष्ट्राय सीमाएं हैं, जो अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सरहद हैं उस पर राज्यों की पुलिस को

आपरेट करने का अधिकार नहीं मिलना चाहिए। लेकिन जहां उत्तर पूर्व के सातों राज्यों के आतंकवाद की बात करते हैं तो हम देखते हैं कि उन सातों राज्यों की जो सीमाएं हैं कहीं न कहीं , किसी न किसी के उस?? बाकायदा ट्रेनिंग कैम्प चल रहे हैं। बर्मा हो या भूटानहो या बंगला देश हो वहां इन ट्रेनिंग कैम्प को रोकनेके लिए, इन ट्रेनिंग कैम्प में जो एक्टिविटीज चल रही हैं उस पर रोक लगाने के लिए अगर केन्द्र सरकार कीओर से चाहे कोई भी केन्द्र सरकार हो, जो रिपोर्ट मैंने बताई है यह रिपोर्ट 1997 की है, अगर केन्द्र सरकार उ???? कैम्प को रोकने के लिए उनको नष्ट करने के लिए और वहां से हमारे क्षेत्र में कोई एक्टिविटीज न चले, कोई टैररिस्ट एक्टिविटीज़ न चले इसे रोकने के लिए केन्द्र सरकार कोई बीच में एक्टिविटीज़ नहीं करती है तो फिर स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को, राज्य सरकारों को रोकने का कोई मतलब नहीं है। तो मुझे लगता है कि एक विशेष परिस्थिति में उत्तर पूर्व के राज्यों में जो उग्रवाद की दशा है उसकी विशेष परिस्थिति को देखते हुए वहां की पुलिस और वहां की पैरा मिलट्री फोर्स को इस तरह की अनुमति दी जानी चाहिए कि वह सीमा पार जाकर जो ट्रेनिंग कैम्प चल रहे हैं और जो हमारे यहां के टैररिस्ट हैं उन्हें जो ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है, उन्हें जो बढ़ावा दिया जा रहा है उसे रोकने के संदर्भ में कोई एक कारगर कदम उठाएं। महोदय, इसी संदर्भ में मृझे एक और प्रश्न पूछना है, मंत्री महोदय यहां बैठे हए है। बीच में आसाम के उत्पन्न उग्रवादियों के संबंध में बहुत दिनों तक एक कंट्रोवर्सी चली थी-वह था टाटा टी से जुड़ा हुआ। ऐसा कहा गया था कि टाटा टी वहां के उत्पन्न उग्रवादियों को स्पोंसर कर रही है, उसको आर्थिक मदद दे रही है। इस पर बहुत दिनों तक विवाद चलता रहा और आखबारों में मैंने बहुत पढ़ा उस बारे में। लेकिन फिर अचानक ऐसा लगा कि वह टाटा टी का इश्यू कहीं न कहीं गुम हो गया, किसी कोल्ड स्टोरेज में रख दिया गया। तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि मंत्री महोदय यहां बैठे हुए हैं और क्लेरिपिकेशन भी देंगे, अपना दवाब भी देंगे। आखिर उस इश्यू को क्यों दबा दिया गया? क्या इस बात की सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट की पूरी जानकारी है कि उत्तर पूर्व के राज्यों में ऐसे कितने औद्योगिक घराने हैं जो उग्रवादी संगठनों से जुड़े हुए हैं। आखिर किन-किन उग्रवादियों को फाइनेंस कर रहे हैं, आखिर किन परिस्थियों में दे रहे हैं? क्या इसमें कोई सही छानबीन हुई है, कोई इसमें सही जांच हुई है?

महोदय, एक तीसरा विषय है मेरा। असम में खुद रक्षा मंत्रालय ने अपने एक प्रेस बयान में असम के संदर्भ में बताया था कि आसाम में 18 मुस्लिम आर्गनाजेशन हैं जिनको मिलिटेंट आर्गनाइजेशन बताया गया था, ऐसे आर्गनाइजेशन वहां काम कर रहे हैं और उन उग्रवादी संगठनों को आज तक बैन नहीं किया गया है। अभी बहुत सारे हमारे यहां उग्रवादी संगठन हैं जिन्हें बैन करने की पंरपरा है लेकिन आज तक सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट या स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से ऐसी कोई पहल नहीं हुई है कि उन संगठनों की और उग्रवादी संगठनों को बैन किया जाए। तो मेरा एक सुझाव होगा गृह मंत्री महोदय से कि उन संगठनों की सूची आप फिर से लेकर बैठे मंत्रालय में और उन संगठनों को अगर वे बैन कर सकें तो बहुत अच्छी बात होगी।

महोदय, उत्तर पूर्व के राज्यों में आतंकवाद का समाधान ढूंढने के लिए, आतंकवाद को समाप्त करने के लिए कई मसझौते किए गए हैं, शिलांग मसझौता हो, त्रिपुरा समझौता हो या अभी बोडो समझौता भी हुआ है। मसझौते तो कर लेती है यहां की सरकारें लेकिन उनको कितने अच्छे ढंग से लागू किया जा रहा है, उनका इंप्लिमेंटेशन किस हद तक हुआ है, इसकी छानबीन करने की जरुरत है, इसका पता लगाने की जरुरत ह वरना इस समझौते का कोई मतलब नहीं है। अभी भी मैं अखबारों में पढ़ रहा हूं कि एन एस सी एन का जो मुइवा ग्रुप है, उप ग्रुप के साथ किसी तरह के समझौते की कोशिश चल रही है और कुछ बातचीत होने वाली है। तो इस एसझौते का कोई अर्थ नहीं है। अगर समझौता किया जा रहा है तो उस समझौते की जितनी शर्तें हैं, उनको लागू किया जाए। अगर समझौते की शर्तें लागू नहीं होती हैं तो वे क्यों नहीं लागू होती हैं, इसकी छानबीन की जाए, इसकी रिपोर्ट तैयार की जाए और उसकी समीक्षा की जानी चाहिए। बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद।

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA (Assam): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairnan, for giving mc this opportunity.

As a person belonging to the Noih-Eastern Region, I would like to fut forward my views on this issue. As fir my background, I was an active membtf of the All-Assam Student's Union.

The problem in the North-Eastern Ri-gion which we are discussing about nov needs a critical review of the past ha -penings and what we want to do in the future.

Sir, if you go into history of insurgency, you find that the insurgency in the North-Eastern Region started there four decades back. We could not find a solution to the problem through military efforts. Military solutions did not give results. The problem has to be viewed in

a broader perspective. We have to find out as to what is the root-cause of the problem. The problem got aggravated during the time of partition when infiltrators entered into that part of the country on a large scale. Subsequently, because of the war with Pakistan, the Chinese aggression, the liberation of Bangladesh, the problem got more aggravated.

The people of this region are still not confident, are still not sure, as to in what way they are being looked at by the rest of the country—what is the view of the Central Government; what is the view of the politicians: what is the view of the policy-makers. Still, the people feel that the North-Eastern Region is only a burden area of the country rather than a resourceful and prosperous area of the country. Sir, we must change our view.

As you know, this region is endowed with a tremendous amount of natural resources. But these have not been exploited for productive use in the last few decades. The disparity in development, the disparity in the infrastructure, is so much that we have reached a point where even though the country is in a position to compete with the developed nations of the world, the people of the North-Eastern Region are not fit enough to compete with the rest of the States in the country because of the infrastructure and because of the lack of skill. The youngsters have taken to arms to draw the attention of the Central Government.

Sir, I want to point out one instance here. I was a member of the Parliamentary delegation. We went to Nagaland. We went to the area in Nagaland, bordering Myanmar. We asked the villagers as to what was the cause of insurgency. We asked as to why the youth, were being attracted towards the insurgent movement. The villagers told us that when a student passed his matriculation examination or his higher secondary examination or something beyond that, he did not like to take up cultivation which, traditionally, his forefathers were doing because mechanisation had not been introduced in agriculture.

The old traditional system continues. There are no employment avenues. There is also no business establishement for private or self-employment. The only option for them is to take recourse to easy money-making by taking up arms. Therefore, unemployment problem seems to be the major cause of this problem. Sir, so many Accords were signed during the last few decades. These included the Assam Accord, the Mizo Accord, the Bodo Accord, the Punjab, Nagaland Accord, but none of the accords was properly implemented. They were treated in a casual manner, just finding a solution at that particular moment and later on leaving the agitators to quarrel among themselves. That was the approach taken.

Sir, the North-Eastern region is having 33 per cent of the water resources of the country. It has a huge hydel power resource for the country. It still has a 55,000 mega watt of hydfel potential. But, for the last 50 years its water resources have not been tapped. Water transport system was stopped and the only link to the area is a 32 kilometre stretch of land. Ninty eight per cent of its border is with neighbouring countries. There is only one railway line and one road linking the North-East. If we really want the North-East to come irfto the national mainstream, we must do something to develop its infrastructure and communication. Just by sending arms and tropps or blaming the State Goverments for not being able to maintain law and order is not going to solve the problem.

Sir, informal trade on the border with Bhutan, Bangladesh, Myanmar and some

parts of China has been going on. All the essential commodities like kerosene, rice, sugar are beiong exported and in return what we get are drugs, illegal arms and also training in operation of arms to our militants. The traditional border trade was stopped twenty years ago. A person from the hilly area of Nagaland cannot compete with a businessman of Madras or of Delhi, even though you give export or trade subsidies. How long will we feed the people of the area by giving subsidies and not allowing them to develop themselves and not having trade? Even tourists were not allowed to go to the North-East for the last 48 years after independence. Its population was kept aloof. This area was the richest area of the country at the time of independence.Now its per-capita income is the lowest.Why? It is because the minimum infrastructure items like power are still deficient, though there is a large scope of developing them. That way we could have exported power to neighbouring countries and also fed the entire country. But, that was not done. There is a feeling in the minds of the planners that at any momement the North-East region may be taken over by China. This feeling was reflected by the Defence Minister, when the visited the area, when he said China may at any time come to this side. You must give confidence to the people of the area by giving them a feeling that their interests are not neglected. If you are really interested in the North-East, you must take a pragmatic view of the entire problem of the area. If you send army there, nothing will happen and there will be no solution to the problem. Shukla Commission and other Commissions were appointed, but their recommendationswere never implemented. Now, we are giving various types of assurances. Even the security-related expenditure which was committed by earlier Prome Ministers and also by the present Prime Minister was not released. The commitment for Assam up to 1995 was Rs. 661 crores. But it was reduced to Rs. 131 crores. This was stated in the Rajya Sabha some three days back in reply to my question. If that is the situation, how can we plan for the development of the State? We have to control extremist groups in the North-East. The militants are getting training in Bangladesh, Bhutan and Myanmar. This problem has to be tackled internationally. Merely blaming the State Government, maybe the regional party or the national party, this way or that way, will not solve the problem.

I will take one or two minutes more. We must establish good relations with our neighbouring countries. If we rtally want to find a solution to this complex problem, our relation; with Bangladesh, with smaller countries of the South East Asia must improve. They are suspicous of our country thinking that at any time India may .surpress them. We nust remove that psychological feeling fiom their mind. The area should be developed independently. The norms should be relaxed.

Due to geographical isolation of the North-East, there is some apprehension in the minds of the people who are in the administration. There are some regional officers specifically posted against regional offices in the North-East. These officers were appointed for the offices in the North-East, but they are functioning from other parts of the country. Why? Because they do not want to face the situation there. If we send the Army only to the North-East without going to the root casue of the problem, without finding any practical solution, this region will further be under-developed. It will become a burden for the country. It will become a cancer for the country. Therefore, I urge upon the Central Government and also the hon. Home Minister to find some permanent solution to the problem; and while doing so the Assam Accord should be taken into consideration. As the House knows, the Assam Accord was signed in 1985, but it was not implemented. Earlier Assam was a most peaceful area in the North-East.

Assam is the gateway for the entire North-East States. There was no report of any violence by the extremist organisations in the State of Assam. When the Assam Accord was pushed to a corner, the extremist groups in collaboration with their counterparts in the neighbouring countries lured away youngsters. They have obtained training in the neighbouring countries. When the Assam Aeeord was not implemented. they lured away the moderate group.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Now, you have to conclude.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: I will take only one or two minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): You said the same thing some three minutes back also.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: I was in AU-Assam Students Union. I am an young leader of that area. So, I must express my feelings. If I am making irrelevant points, kindly correct me. I am not wasting the time of the House. I will not do that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): No doubt you are making relevant points, but there is a constraint of time.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: Since I represent that area, some consideration should be given.

The Assam Accord was not implemented. Some extremists were with the All-Assam Students Union. They were the supporters of the All-Assam Students Union. They led a normal life. They have opted for arms. They have lured away the moderate group telling them "there was no use of signing Accords with the Government of India because they are not sincere in implementing the Assam Accord which was signed in 1985". That is the point for the present stage of insurgency activity and the subversive activity. I hope, the Central Government, the policy-makers and politicians of the country, will take a different view. Sir, I support Mr. Parag Chaliha, my leader, in saying that we do not want mere sympathy. We do not want anything undue to us. We want something which was due to us which was not given to us. As a compensation for that, we must be given something extra. That is our legitimate claim. In economic development, for the last 50 years, we were neglected; we remained underdeveloped. And as a compensation for that, special efforts should be there. There should not be any heartburning on this score in any other part of the country that the North-East is given extra importance. I heard some sound from some hon. Members at some time that the North-East was given' so much of importance. That hurt me. Therefore, I am saying that it is our legitimate claim and these areas should not be allowed to be isolated and to become burden areas for all the time. Also, being a strategic area, it should have been looked into in a different perspective.

With these words, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Hiphei. You have to conclude within 3-4 minutes.

SHRI HIPHEI (Mizoram): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am happy that, the problems of the north-eastern region are now being exclusively discussed. I take this as 'well began' and it is wisely said, "Well began is half done". I hope that this will not be just half-done but will be finished fully and the problems facing the north-eastern region will bc_ _solved immediately if properly attended to.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to ask our national leaders, irrespective of their political affiliations, whether they have really and sincerely applied their thought and mind in solving the problems of the northeastern region. Now, if we look at the political map of India, the whole north-eastern region is totally cut off. It is linked with a very narrow line. If we

look at it properly, we will fmd that it could have been annexed to Myanmar or Bangladesh. But fortunately, we are annexed to India. We are proud that we are in India. But we are not properly taken care of. For example, when I first came to Parliament in 1990, Jammu and Kashmir was burning. Then the problem was attended to properly by the national leaders including the State leaders. Of course the problem is not totally solved. But it is half-solved now, 50 per cent solved. Let us see the problem of insurgency in Punjab. When it was properly attended to by the national leaders and State leaders, by the State Government and the Union Government, it has become a normal State now. Let us now go back to the North-Eastern India with a sincere heart, with sympathy, with passion and love. If we do that, I think the problems facing the north-eastern region can also be solved. The earlier speakers from the north-eastern region and from other parts of India, other hon. Members, have stated the causes of the problems. They can be analysed as economic problems, communicaiton problems, social problems and political problems. Now, in the whole of the country, each and every State has its own problems. But the problems facing the North-Eastern region are peculiar. We have to find out the economical problems, social problems, educational problems and political problems. Let us keep them aside. In addition to these problems, what could be the problem causing insurgency? The problem of insurgency in each State may differ from the problem in the North-Eastern region. The North-Eastern region has its own problems. Take for instance, Manipur. My friend has said that its demand for sovereignty might be the main cause of insurgency in that State. But this problem might be there due to some other reason. The other reason could be the communal conflict, the ethnic conflict. In that conflict, even those overground leaders are also involved. So, we have to properly diagnose the problem to find out whether it is due to demand for soverignty or whethfer it is due to some other reason. Now, let us go back to Mizoram. Mizoram was also under insurgency for long twenty years. The problem had been properly examined by the Central leaders and by the State leaders and a solution was found out. Later on, it was found that the rebel leader wanted to come over to Mizoram to sign the peace accord if he could be accommodated in the State politics as Chief Minister of the State. After knowing what he wanted, we said: "Okay. You come over to India. 'We are ready to vacate the seat and we did that." Now, normalcy has returned to Mizoram. But unfortunately, as my friends have already said, the peace accords in the North-Eastern region have been signed many times. But they have never been fulfilled. I would like to refer to another accord. I do not know the details of it. The Mizoram Peace Accord was singed in 1986. In this Accord, it was stated that the State of Mizoram will be having a separate University. Unfortunately, it was not mentioned in the Accord as to which type of University will be set up in Mizoram. So, the interpretation made by the Human Resource Development Ministry was different and the interpretation made by the Government of Mizoram was different. They said that there was no specific mention about the Central University.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Please conclude.

SHRI HIPHEI: Sir, I would sgeak for another two minutes. Now| we said that it is a Central Unviersity. The Union Government said that it is a State University. The former Prime Minister had assented to give us a Central University. But till today, no initiative has been taken in this regard. So, unless this Accord is fulfilled, no other Peace, Accord can take place. So, we have to be very sincers and honest while signing the Peace Accord. It might have been a Peace Accord signed by another

Government. But the present Government is requested that the Accord singed between the Union Government and the rebel leaders may kindly be implemented fully.

Another problem in the North-Eastern region is the problem of the Autonomous District Council. Now, I would like to inform the hon. Home Minister about the demand for Bodoland...

6.00 P.M.

Sir, the demand is for a separate State. The demand for separation of the State is now being made every where in the North-Eastern India because those autonomous District Councils are not given uniform power, whether it is executive or legislative or financial. In the North-Eastern India, we have nine authonomous District Councils having different legislative and executive powers. If they are autonomous District Council, let them have uniformity. They must be uniform in exercising their executive and legislative powers. So, I request the Government of India that they should properly look into the affairs of the District Councils so that the problems which are coming up again and again in the North-Eastern region are solved before the situation becomes worse.

I would like to add one point more. That is about employment. Mr. Vice-Chairman, in the North-Eastern India, barring Assam where the situation is a little bit better, in all other States, we don't have factories, we don't have industries, we don't have private companies. There are no emptoyment opportunities other than the Govenrment services.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Please conclude now. You have made your points.

SHRI HIPHEI: I am going to conclude. Sir.

So, unemployment problem is to be solved. Our two former Prime Ministers had committed two packages of financial assistance, each amounting to 6,000 crores of rupees. There is an assistance of Rs. 12,000 crores. Those packages may kindly be implemented by the present Government. There might be problems in rules and regulations, but this is a bonus. Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is not a monthly salary or an allowance. Bonus is a gift. So, it should be given beyond the rules and regulations. Over and above the Plan allocations, these 12,000 crores of rupees may kindly be sanctioned to the Nbrth-Eastern States so that they can solve their own problems. The unemployment problem can also be overcome.by them. Thank you. Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Dr. B.B. Dutta. The time allotted to your party is already exchausted by others. Since you come from a State of the North-East region, you can take two or three minutes for making your suggestions, if you have any.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: It may be a bonus time.

DR. B.B. DUTTA: Thank you. Sir. I don't know what to say in three minutes, but I will try.

Sir, we are discussing the problems of the North-East. The first important thing is that we do understand the problem of the North-East in its proper depth and dimension. When the United Front Government was in power, from time to time, the impressions were given that the situation in the North-East was improving in terms of law and order, in terms of the progress made in solving the insurgency problem. The negotiations were being held with the underground; the contacts had been made. So, the situation is improving. I would like to impress upon the House that the situation has been steadily deteriorating in the reigon over the year and over the decades. There has been no improvement in the North-Eastern situation. The situation is steadily deteriorating ~ this message should first go home. The situation is deteriorating because you find all t"he insurgent groups <^rating in that region. Somebody from

the ruling side has mentioned -- I think Mr. Malhoutra started by saying this --and somebody else has also repeated that there are as many as 70 insurgent groups. This kind of information only indicates how the Home Ministry receives a faulty intelligence information and how credulously it accepts it.

How do they analyse the information? How do they collate and analyse? If you seriously analyse the correct information, you will find that 18 or 19 serious insurgent groups are there and out of that, perhaps, six or seven insurgent groups are very active. There are other insurgent groups who were loyal to their cause, but, of late, they have been going out of action one by one. So, this is the thing. You will find that the over-ground administration, the Government, over the years has become weaker and weaker in all the States in the North-East barring, say, Arunachal Pradesh, and I should say, to some extent barring Mizoram. These States also have the potential for troubles and one day they may also flower and blossom. So, you will find the same situation in Manipur, in Nagaland, in parts of Assam and in parts of Meghalaya. The level of efficiency of the administration in sinking. As a result what happens is that part of the bureaucracy, part of the police'force, the general citizenry, the businessmen, the traders do not know to whom they should be loyal. They don't know whether they should be loyal to the Government of the day or they should protect their interests by being loyal to the underground. This conflict is so much manifest. I mentioned it earlier in this House that the Deputy Commissioners and the Superintendents of Police have also to pay taxes to the underground. It is happening in Manipur. The Ministers also have to pay it. The whole thing is in a mess. That is why there is a need for a through discussion not only in terms of development but also in terms of governance and administration. What have basically gone wrong? The question has to be examined. This is the problem.

Now I come to the second point. A lot of Members have spoken about the economic measures which are being taken to give a big boost to the development of North-East and to deal with unemployment problem. It is the unemployed youth who man the army of insurgents. They are the potential recruits and they are recruited in large numbers. The insurgents are increasing by the way. They are spreading in all directions. More youths are joining the pro-insurgency army in the North-East and their number is much more than what it was three years or five years before. Now in economic matters what is missing is a proper development strategy for the North-East. That is the most unfortunate part. No proper development strategy has ever been evolved. Never the main problem of economic development in the North-East is the connectivity problem, connectivity through Bangladesh and connectivity through the Siliguri neck. This is the problem. We call it the transit problem, in other words, the connectivity problem. The connectivity problem is interlinked with the markets. You don't have the markets beacuse of this problem. How do we tackle this problem? You have to reduce the time overrun and the cost overrun. You have to increase the mobility by road transport and rail transport. A massive investment ought to have been made long before instead of quarrelling whether there should be a broad-guage line or a metre-guage line, whether it should be single line or double line. It should have been a network of double-line road and railways. There should have been proper harnessing of the tremendous hydel potential. Nearly 45% of the hydel power is available in the North-East. Now all these things have not been tackled on one ground that we don't have money. You are having money today to send the CRPF. You are having money to send the military. Today you are spending so much of money. Of course, the Finance Minister is reported to have said that an amount of Rs. 42,000 crores has been spent in the last seven years.

Somebody gave me the figure the other day in the seminar, whatever be the veracity of the figure. You have pumped money without caring to know whether the money has been translated into assets. Money pumped does not become automatically an asse! to the nation. You have not examined whether there is any correlation between money flow and asset creation. You have not done that. Why haven't you done that? Because you are afraid to do it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Please conclude now.

DR. B.B. DUTTA: You have

mechanism to do it either.

Since we have no development strategy, we are creating ceremonial atmosphere to divert the attention of the people. The former Prime Minister, Shri H.D. Deve Gowda, goes there, stays for seven days and declares a package of Rs. 6,100 crores. Out of Rs. 6,100 crorcs, how jnuch amount have we spent in North-East? I would like to have the figures.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRl MD. SALIM): Mr. Dutta, the Home Minister is here. You will be interested to listen to him. He has to attend a Cabinet meeting. Kindly conclude now. You can make some concrete suggestions.

DR. B.B. DUTTA: Sir, I will make only suggestions. The hon. Member,' Shri Jaswant Singh, spoke about the economic measures which are being taken and certain other things. If this region has to be given a-lot of funds and 10 per cent funds of each Ministry by creating a non-laps-able jesource pool for North-East then Tmrnediately place all the funds with the North-East Council. This institution-a novel one provides the mechanism to serve the regional economic interest of the North-East of which he, himself is the Chairman designate. This is my suggestion. Don't keep funds hanging in the air because there does not exist any fund. When we 'go to the Planning Commission, they say "Where are the funds?" When we go to the Ministry, they say "Where is the scheme? We are trying to find out the scheme". Don't waste time like this. Let us be very serious and start here and now. This is my suggestion on economic front. Let us go in for massive investment for infrastructure in North-East because so much of fund is available. There are Rs. 6,100 and then Shri Gujralji increased the amount to Rs. 7,300 crores. Now there is the non-lapsable resource pool, 10 per cent of each Ministry. I find plenty of funds for carrying out these big projects in North-East to remove the problem of connectivity.

I would like to mention one more point which is very important. Nobody has drawn any body's attention to it. My friends, who are from those States, have merely hinted about it, that is, the problem of governance. As I mentioned earlier, we have got a compact tribal area in North-East. Look at Manipur especially hilly area, Nagaland and Mizoram geographically. Yoii will find a compact zone with 95 to 99 per cent tribal people. Then there arc tribal people in Arunchal Pradesh and Meghalaya — a very good concentration. Now to solve the political aspirations of the tribal people, the Constitution of India was strained to the utmost limit without caring for the economic viability and without caring for the security, though these are all border States. All those agruments which were used earlier were thrown overboard and we went for a massive reorganisation, political reorganisation, at the State level. In spite of the fact that. States have been created and Union Territories have been upgraded to statehood, the problems keep on multiplying. In these States, as Shri Hiphei just now mentioned, we have retained the Dirtrict Councils wherever they were. They are as many as nine. All the things have been retained providing for a three tier system. Rerservations have been retained for the tribal people, though some people legitimately argue

that here the reservation is for a majority. By majority a unique example of Discimination against non-tribals.

Sir, a majority, 90 per cenc of the people, is still enjoying reservation depriving state level minorities of all opportunities. All these things have been given. Then why is there still insurgency by the majority qroups themselves? What more can be done for them? There is a boubt that with the kind of administrative setup we have there and with the kind of governance we have there, we shall not able to strike at the root of the problem. That is why, I want that, before creating more States, at least, we should have a look at North-East through the eyes of a Commission or a qroup of expert as to what has gone wrong with North-East and why, after giving such a big political deal there is so much of insurgency. In the State of Meghalaya from where I come, there are three major tribal communities, i.e. Khasi, Jantia and Garo. If you find an inter-tribe reivalry now re-suhing in political instability and growth of insurgency in and around the main Headquarters of the British Administration, Shillong, you will not be surprised. I would like to say that there is a need for a thorough examination of the working of the Constitution and the working of the 6th Schedule. I have spent the most impressionable 35 years of my life working w"ith them and enjoying the affection and confidence of so many tribal leaders of each State.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI) in the Chair]

I can tell you that the neglect of the tribal democratic system, has caused havoc in the North-Eastern Region. If we had taken the tribal democratic system as it existed in Nagaland, as it existed in Mizoram, as it existed in Meghalaya and Arunachal and if the structure of modern state had been fused with that in a proper manner, then today these problems wouldn't have occurred. But what has happened is this. We have the parhamentary form of Government with the Centre, the Stale Governments and the third tier, that is, the District Councils. These District Councils have not struck roots. They have not been able to harmonise themselves with the working of the communities and their way of demo cratic functioning. That is why there is a conflict going on between the local democratic system and the democratic system that has been imposed through this third tier of governance. This is what I want to tell you. We should incorporate them, we should give them the statutory status, it is a wrong conception that in the tribal areas the Panchayati Raj system does not hold good. They have their own Panchayati Raj. Only the nomenclature is different. Maybe, in the social canvas that is there, the functioning will be different. So, I want to draw your attention to this because. Sir, the North-Eastern Region is the only region where you will find that only seven tribal groups are there who have got a population of more than one lakh. Most of the remaining tribal groups, a large number of them, are microscopic in nature so far as their numbers are concerned — 50,000 30,000, 70,000 and like that. Now because of this you will find yet another dimension of the problem. Now, we have been following the linguistic basis in the formation of States, a dominant group and a dominant language, where the other groups are to be assimilated. This has not happened in the North-Eastern Region. This has not happened even in Assam up to the ' hundred per cent. That is why Assam is also facing problems even after the separation of major hilly dfeas. As a result, these aspect of the question have to be properly examined to see to it that we incorporate all those tribal traditions in our system of governance and administration. This requires a constitutional probe to find out what has gone wrong and where we have failed.

Sir, we have the Bodo movement in the bosom of Assam itself. It is a big problem in Assam even in the main area where Assamese are the major communi-

ty in the North-East with a history of formation of the State, with a history of a very matured social theory. They have got a bright history, a bright culture. In spite of that, why is there so much of problem, so much of threat to Assam being disintegrated? Unlike the other nationalities in the rest of-the country, it is only the Assamese nationality formation which has not completed its full process. In every Polite Station or Tehsil office in Assam, you will, find that there not been assimilated into the mainstream. Hence, this problem has occurred in that region, unlike in the rest of India. So, I want that the Home Minister should properly study all these things, try to do something and try to evolve some kind of a constitutional arrangement. All the tribes looked at each other as equals. Now, as a result of the imposition of the modern state structure, some tribe has become a dominant tribe in one State and the rest of the tribes feel as if they are subordinate tribes. This has created a dichotomy, a problem, between them. It wasn't there earlier. The British didn't administer it in that way. They kept it the way they were. So, this is the problem. This is the problem in Mizoram today. If we examine the whole thing, why the Home Ministry is not able to release the statistics...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Mr. Dutta, please condude. You have no time left. Please conclude.

DR. B.B. DUTTA: Okay. Thank you. Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Shri Narendra Mohan. And I would request you to kindly be brief.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this whole discussion has been raised because of my notice which I gave on the 3rd of June. I made a Special Mention on that day and the Chairman hsd said that there should be a Short Duration Discussion.

Anyway, I am not going to make a speech here at all. Rather, I am going to protest. My name was at number two.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): No, no.Mr. Narendra Mohan, you come to tke subejct.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Listen to me, please. *(Interruptons)* I am on a Point of Order.

THE VICE-CHAIRHAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): No Ptint of Order.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is my foint of order. My name has been publisled at number two. Why have I been called at this juncture? I would like to have a ruling from you. What is the san'tity of publishing my name in the List of Business?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): I am ;iving a ruling. *(hUenuptions)* Please talc your seat.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: I would like to know whatthe sanctity is of publishing it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Please take your seat. I am giving the ruling. So far as the Short Duration Discussion is concerned, it is *.he party which submits the names. It is done as per the desire of the party. Since your name is here...

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, without notice nobody can speak. See Rule 173.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Why should I see that?

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Sir, we have to function as per rules. We cannot function arbitrarily. I object to it and my protest may kindly be noted. I am not going to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): So far as the Short Duration Discussion is concerned, there is no question of arbitrariness.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Sir, this is arbitrariness, to my mind. Maybe, I am wrong. The rules are very clear. The rules are crystal clear. The rules say, "The notice has to be given in writing." It is not somebody coming and giving you notice at the moment. The notice has to be given in writing beforehand and then only somebody can speak. My name is number two...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Narendra Mohanji, you are unnecessarily wasting the time of the House.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: I am not going to make any speech. Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): You can ask your leader. *...(Interruptions)...* Narendra Mohanji, please co-operate with the House. Whatever you have to say, please say.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: As a protest, I am not going to make any speech. Sir.

श्री नरेश यादवः उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं कहना चाहता हूं....(**व्यवधान**)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सनातन बिसी)ः नहीं , नहीं हमको कन्कलूड करना है।

श्री नरेश यादव: यह बहुत ही इम्पोर्टेंट सवाल है सदन की मर्यादा का सवाल है । चेयर को यह ऐडरैस करना कि चेयर आरबिट्रेरली फंकशन कर रहा है, यह बहुत गलत बात है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सनातन बिसी)ः हमने बोल दिया न कि कोई ऐसी बात नहीं कर रहे हैं। ....(**व्यवधान**)... सुनिए नरेश जी जो चीज गलत रहेगा, वह एक्सपंज होगा।

श्री नरेश यादवः चेयर को आरबिट्रेरी नहीं कहा जा सकता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सनातन बिसी)ः नहीं, नहीं वह तो खुद बोले कि नहीं.....(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री नरेश यादवः यह बोला गया है कि चेयर का फंक्शन आरबिट्रेरी हो रहा है।

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: I have not said so. *...(Interruptions)...*

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सनातन बिसी)ः नरेश जी, हमको मालूम है कि रिकार्ड में क्या जाएगा, क्या नहीं जाएगा।

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: I request you to please permit the Home Minister to make the reply.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): That I will do. Mr. Fernandes, your name is here. Please conclude within a minute.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: Sir, I am just intervening, I am not'speaking. I want to say something on this matter. As I had been visiting this area as an observer from my party, I took interest. At least, in the last two Sessions I spoke on this matter. I think if more sessions are there, we will keep on speaking on the same matter without any solution. So, I took interest to speak because every time we speak on the North-East, only the Home Minister comes here and replies. I think it is a problem not more so in our territory. This problem lies in the bordering areas, international boundaries, i.e. in Myanmar, in Bhutan, in Bangladesh. So, unless we use pre-emptive diplomacy) unless we have a dialogue with the neighbouring countries—I am happy that Bhutan and Bangladesh are member-countries of the SAARC, but in Myanmar, we know what type of regime is going on there. I took interest to speak because there is a report in the Press, 'Track from Dhaka', it is said that the Government of Bangladesh signed an MOU, not an agreement, with USA which entitles them to station the army in Bangladesh. This is called sofa. It was also signed with the former State of USSR, Kazakhastan and that country has also been converted into a military base for the Americans.

Sir, we have raised objections in the past that the island of Diego Garcia is used by Americans as a base and now we are having this Western power at our

doorsteps, in our backyard, in Bangladesh. Therefore, I would like to know whether there is inter-ministerial co-ordination of the Home Ministry, the External Affairs Ministry and the Defence Ministry. Sir, this problem can be solved by these three Ministries. The problem is not within our boundry. I think we are barking up the wrong tree. The problem lies away from our boundary. It lies in the neighbouring countries where insurgency has been encouraged by the so-called foreign powers who have their designs. With India going nuclear, this problem is more pronounced. Therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether a treaty is being signed clandestinely as MoU. There is no agreement on paper. I would like to know whether a military base of the USA can be stationed in Bangladesh. That was ray interest in taking the time of the House. I hope, the hon. Home Minister will enlighten the House on this.

Thank you.

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी: उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आज का जो शार्ट डयूरेशन डिस्कशन है, वह सीमित है, पूर्वोत्तर क्षेत्र में विघटनकारी क्रियाकलापों में ह ई वृद्वि से उत्पन्न गंभीर स्थिति पर। अंग्रेजी में इसका शीर्षक है —The grave situation arising out of increase in subversive activities in the North-East region of the country.

महोदय मैं बहुत आभारी हूं कि प्राय: यहां जितने सदस्य पूर्वोत्तर से हैं, वे सभी बोले हैं और उनके अतिरिक्त भी सभी पार्टियों के प्रतिनिधि सब तरफ से बोले हैं। उनमें से कुछ भाषणों से, जैसे अभी दत्ता जी बोल रहे थे, उनसे बहुत कुछ सीखने को मिला और किस किस दिशा में और सोचना चाहिए, इस बारे में और पूर्वोत्तर की समस्याओं के संदर्भ में भी कुछ दिशा निर्देश मिला । मैं उन्हें जरुर समझने की कोशिश करुंगा। मैं यह स्वीकार करुंगा कि मैं शायद बहुत सारे प्रांतों में गया होऊंगा लेकिन जिसको प्रदेशों का अध्ययन कहते हैं, वह अध्ययन मेरा कम है। शायद आसाश को मैं ज्यादा जानता हूं लेकिन बाद में जो छोटे छोटे प्रदेश बने और जिनमें आईडेंटिटी का सवाल बहुत महत्वपूर्ण था, उनके बारे में मैं ज्यादा नहीं जानता । जो सारी की सारी ट्राईब्ज, वहां पर है, ऐसी ट्राईब्ज बहुत कम हैं जिनकी संख्या एक लाख से ऊपरहै, बाकी सब छोटी छोटी ट्राईब्ज हैं, उसके कारण जो समस्या पैदा हुई है, जिसकी ओऱ दत्ता जी ने संकेत किया, उसे मैं बहुत महत्वपूर्ण मानता हूं लेकिन मैं जानता हूं कि सिक्योरिटी के संबंध में यह सवाल है, सबवर्सिव ऐक्टीविटीजं के संबंध में यह सवाल है, जिन्होंने पहले इसे उठाया था, उन्होंने शायद आई.एस.आई. का उल्लेख करके उठाया था लेकिन मैं जानता था कि हरेक कहेगा कि इस समस्या की जड़ में विकास का अभाव है औऱ ये जो चीजें हैं चूंकि मुझे पता था कि हरेक की बात में इनका जिक्र होगा, इसलिए मुझे यह उपयुक्त लगा कि इस समय जिनके जिम्मे यह काम किया गया है, एक प्रकार से नार्थ ईस्ट काउंसिल के अध्यक्ष के रुप में वे काम करते रहे हैं, औपचारिक रुप से कानून बन जाएगा बाद मे, और वे प्लानिंग कमीशन के डिप्टी चेयरमैन भी हैं, अब तो वे राज्य सभा के सदस्य भी हो गए हैं, इसलिए मैंने उनसे कहा कि और किसी हैसियत से नहीं तो राज्यसभा के सदस्य की हैसियत से ही आप बोलेंगे तो अधिकृत रुप से इस विषय पर बोल सकेंगे।

महोदय मैं जानता हूं कि बहुत से लोग पिछले दिनों में सबवर्सिव एक्टीविटिज के संबंध में, अपने अपने प्रदेश की सुरक्षा के संबंध में मुझ से मिलने आए और उनमें मुख्य मंत्री भी थे, चाहे वे आसाम के हों, चाहे त्रिपुरा के हो, चाहे मणिपुर के हों, चाहे अरुणाचल प्रदेश के हों, सभी लोग आए हैं, मुझसे मिले हैं और सबसे विस्तार से चर्चा हुई है। सबके सब निश्चित रुप से प्लानिंग कमीशन के डिप्टी चैयरमैंन से भी मिलते रहे होंगे क्योंकि उन्हें पता था कि ये नार्थ ईस्ट काऊंसिल के अध्यक्ष हैं औऱ उन्हें डर रहा होगा कि अगर हमको आवश्यक वित्तीय सहायता नहीं मिलेगी तो हम जो विकास करना चाहते हैं, वह नहीं होगा। यह जो धारण है पूरे क्षेत्र में, उस धारण को हमारे सबसे क्योवृद्व साथी पराग चलिहा जी ने बड़ी वेदना से व्यक्त किया है। उन्होंने कहा कि मुझे लगता है कि इस सदन में भी मेरी उपेक्षा होती है। इसी प्रकार से हमारे नागालैंड के सदस्य भी बोले । सबसे यूवा उन्होंने भी इसी उपेक्षा के भाव को व्यक्त किया। मैं तो इतना कह सकता हूं कि किसी को दो, देने की बात नहीं है। लेकिन सही है कि इन 50 सालों में धीरे धीरे करके यह भाव उस क्षेत्र में बहुत बढ़ गया है। मैं अगर कोट करुं तो पिछले दिनों में जो नौर्थ ईस्ट के चीफ मिनिस्टर की कांफ्रेस यहां पर

हुई उसमें देश के प्रधान मंत्री ने जब उन्हें संबोधित किया तो उन्होंने एक शब्द कहा, उन्होंने एक वाक्य कहा जो कि इस दृष्टि से बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। उन्होंने कहा:

"When in people in' Delhi think of the North-East..."—when people in Delhi, it means, everyone and it is not referring to one Government or another Government—"...they usually think of the demographic distance which translates itself into mental distance."

और अगला वाक्या है-

"When the people in the North-East think of New Delhi, they usually think of the developmental distance which translates itself into emotional distance."

बहुत उपयुक्त शब्द है। एक तरफ तो हम नई दिल्ली में बैठ करके जब पूर्वोत्तर की बात करते हैं तो सोचते हैं कितनी दूर है । इस कारण सोचते सोचते उसका वह मेंटल डिस्टेंस भी हो जाता है और उसी प्रकार से वहां पर बैठे हुए लोग नई दिल्ली के बारे में सोचते हैं कि नई दिल्ली और उसके आसपास के प्रदेश और बाकी प्रदेश कितने विसकित हैं और हम कितने पिछड़े हुए हैं। रेलगाड़ी की बात कहीं , कई दृष्टियों से कम्युनिकेशन की बात कही। हम जानते हैं कि वहां पर तो सम्पर्क करना सम्भव नहीं होता, कितनी दिक्त होती है और कोई रास्ता नहीं, प्लेन से ही जाना है और उस दिन बारिश हो गई, बारिश में कुछ हो गया तो कैंसिनल हो गया, सब गड़बड़ हो गया। यह सारी जो चीजें हैं वह दूरी पैदा करता है और एक खाई सी पैदा होती है जिसके कारण यह उपेक्षा का भाव और मजबूत होता है और दृढ़ होता है । मैं समझता हूं कि हम सबका कर्तव्य है, सब का कर्तव्य बनता है इस इमोशनल डिस्टेंस, को दूर करना, रिभूव करना और यह आभास पैदा करना कि विशेष रुप से उत्तर पूर्व की चिन्ता करने लगी है और इसीलिए जो जसवन्त सिंह जी ने कहा उसका महत्व ता चाहे सिम्बोलिज्म सही। मैं यह मानता हूं कि कोई अगर प्रधान मंत्री वहां पर एक दिन, दो दिन, चार दिन. पांच दिन जाता है तो by itself is not important लेकिन उनका यह कहना महत्वपूर्ण है कि जब पहली बार अगर किसी प्रदेश में जाउंगा तो उत्तर पूर्व के प्रदेश में जाउंगा। पहली पहली कोई कांफ्रेंस करुंगा तो मैं उत्तर पूर्व की कांफ्रेस करुंगा। यह जब निर्णय सरकार करती है तो सरकार कम से कम अपनी ओर से एक संकेत भेजती है, एक मैसेज भेजती है जो बहुत कांशस है और मैं सझता हूं कि केवल मात्र मैंसेजेज से और संकोतों से काम नहीं चलेगा। इस मामले में जिस प्रकार से कुछ सुझाव डा. दत्त ने अभी अभी दिये कि हमको डवलपमेंट स्ट्रेटेजी भी बदलनी होगी, सोचना होगा। उसी कारण वह कुछ कह रहे थे जिसके कारण स्वाभाविक रुप से सब लोगों ने पूछना चाहा कि आगे क्या सोचते हैं. क्या नहीं सोचते हैं, जरुर मौका आएगा वह इसी विस्तार से चर्चा करेंगे। लेकिन इस सरकार की डेवलपमेंट स्ट्रेटेजी के बारे में भी कुछ योजनाएं हैं जिनको हम विकसित करेंगे।

सभापति जी, जहां तक गृह मंत्रालय का सवाल है और आज की इस चर्चा का सवाल है, उसमें ध्यान केन्द्रीत किया गया है कि पिछले दिनों में विघटनकारी त्तव बहुत सक्रिय हो गए है, उनकी गतिविधियों में इतना विस्तार हुआ है, वृद्वि हुई है कि उत्तर पूर्व की स्थिति गंभीर बन गई है ।यह पूर्वोत्तर के बारे में सही है। लेकिन मैं तो कहूंगा कि यह देश के बारे में भी सही है। आखिर मुझे स्मरण आता है मैं जब सोचता हूं about the internal security environment, तो आज मैं सरकार में हूं, इससे पहले मैं एक बार सरकार में रहा हूं. केन्द्र सरकार में। आज से 20-21 साल पहले और उस 20-21 साल पहले जब मैं सरकार में था तब मुझे निमंत्रण मिला पड़ौस के देश का उस स्थान का जहां मेरा जन्म हुआ और करांची में 50 साल में जाने का वह एक ही अवसर था औऱ मुझे अच्छी तरह से स्मरण है कि केन्द्र के भारत सरकार के सूचना औऱ प्रसारण मंत्री के नाते मैं जब करांची गया उस समय वहां पर सैनिक शासन था, जनरल जिया का राज था। सारा वातावरण ऐसा था कि मानों केंटोनमेंट में पहुंच गए हों, चारों ओऱ सेना ही सेना, चारों ओऱ सैनिक टुकड़ियां औऱ वहां के नागरिक जब देखते थे और पूछते थे कि ये कोन हैं? क्या हैं? तो उनको पाकिस्तान के अधिकारी बताते थे कि ये भारत सरकार के एक केन्द्रीय मंत्री हैं, उनको आर्श्रय होता था कि इनके साथ कोई सिक्योरिटी नहीं, कोई सुरक्षा नहीं, कुछ नहीं, ऐसी ही घूम रहे हैं, टहल रहे हैं। मैं अपने स्कूल मे गया स्कूल के पास में इधर उधर गया, कई जगह गया और वह मुझे अच्छी तरह से इसलिए याद है क्योंकि उस समय वातावरण भारत के भीतर भी वैसा ही था। उस समय जो हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री थे, उनके साथ कोई सिक्योरिटी नहीं हुआ करती थी और आज मेरे साथ ब्लैक कमांडोज, घूमते हैं। प्रतिदिन हमारे पास सांसद लिख कर देते हैं कि मेरे लिए सुरक्षा का प्रबंध करो, अभी तक मैंने आपको कहा, आपने दिया नहीं। इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी एनवायर्नमेंट जिस प्रकार से डिटीरियोरेट हुआ है इन पिछले 15-20

सालों मे, यह यहां चिंता की बात है और सही कहा है कि जहां तक उत्तर पूर्व का सवाल है, वहां पर डिटीरियोरेशन जो हुआ है, उसका पूरा पूरा दोष हम आई.एस.आई. पर लगा दें तो यह गलत होगा । मैं मानता हूं कि असंतोष अगर कहीं नहीं है तो देश का दुशमन हमारा कुछ नहीं बिगाड़ सकता लेकिन अगर असंतोष है, वह असंतोष किसी कारण से भी हो, असंतोष का कारण उपेक्षा हो सकता है, असंतोष का कारण विकास का अभाव हो सकता है। केवल विकास , केवल आर्थिक ...कुछ लोग कहते हैं, कि This is not a law and order problem. It is quite correct. But, if anyone says that this is a political problem, I do no< agree with it. There may be so many reasons responsible for it.

कभी कभी पोलिटिकल प्राब्लम कह कर हम जो हमारे देश के दुशमन हैं उनकी उपेक्षा का भाव लगाते हैं या जब हम ऐनालाइज करते हैं कि केवल इकनामिक रिज़न्स हैं तो वह भी सही नहीं है । हिंदुस्तान में इतना उग्रवाद हमने पंजाब में देखा तो शायद रिलेटिवली, अपेक्षाकृत तुलनात्मक दृष्टि से पंजाब काफी प्रोग्रेसिव रहा है और काफी सम्पन्न रहा है प्रॉस्परस होते हुए भी लेकिन कितना भयंकर उग्रवाद वहां पर हमने देखा । इसीलिए Let us have a holistic approach to all problems of terrorism or militancy or insurgency.

सालों में, यह महा चिंता की बात है औऱ सही कहा है कि जहां तक उत्तर पूर्व का सवाल है वहां पर डिटीरियोरेशन जो हुआ है, उसका पूरा का पूरा दोष हम आई.एस.आई. पर लगा दें तो यह गलत होगा। मैं मानता हूं कि असंतोष अगर कहीं नहीं है तो देश का दुशमन हमारा कुछ नहीं बिगाड़ सकता लेकिन अगर असंतोष है, वह असंतोष किसी कारण से भी हो, असंतोष का कारण उपेक्षा हो सकता है, असंतोष का कारण विकास अभाव हो सकता है। केवल विकास, केवल आर्थिक कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि This is not a law and order problem. It is quite correct. But, if aiiyone says that this is a political problem, I do not agree with it. There may be so many rca;,c-,r,:^ responsible for it.

कभी कभी पोलिटिकल प्राब्लम कह कर हम जो हमारे देश के दुशमन है, उनकी ओर उपेक्षा का भाव लगाते हैं या जब हम ऐनालाइज करते हैं कि केवल इकानांमिक रीजन्स हैं तो वह भी सही नहीं हैं। हिंदुस्तान में इतना उग्रवाद हमने पंजाब में देखा तो शायद रिलेटिवली , अपेक्षाकृत तुलनात्मक दृष्टि से पंजाब काफी प्रोग्रेसिव रहा है औऱ काफी सम्पन्न रहा है प्रास्पेरस होते हुए भी लेकिन कितना भयंकर उग्रवाद वहां पर हमने देखा। इसलिए Let us have a holistic approach to all problems of terrorism or militancy or insurgency.

एक कांप्रिहेंसिव एप्रोच होनी चाहिए और उस काप्रिहेंसिव एप्रोच में में कहूंगा कि जहां तक पूर्वोत्तर का सवाल है तो पूर्वोत्तर में उपेक्षा का भाव वहां की जनता के मन से निकालना यह हमारा पहला कर्त्तव्य, विकास का अभाव वहां पर न रहे और कम्युनिकेशन्स और इनफ्रास्ट्रकच्र ठीक प्रकार से डेवलप हो, यह हमारा दूसरा काम लेकिन साथ साथ तीसरा काम जिसका कारण ला एड आर्डर है जिसके कारण हमारी पुलिस व्यवस्था कितनी अच्छी है, इससे सबंधित है, वह कितनी अप टु डेट है और हमारी इंटेलिजेंस कितनी अच्छी है, इन सब बातों को भी ठीक करना हमरा कर्त्तव्य होगा।

सभापति जी, मैं इस बात से सहमत हूं शायद हमारे मौलना आजमी जी ने कहा कि Why do you not take a firm action against ISI जरुर लेंगे , ले रहे हैं। इन्हीं पिछले दो तीन सप्ताहों में तीन बड़े इम्पाटेंट जो उनके अडडे थे, उनको तोड़ कर वहां पर काफी हमने रिकवरी की। मुझे विश्वास है कि कल आप लोगों को देखने का अवसर मिला होगा यहां पर जो रक्षा मंत्रालय की ओर से एक आर्मस का प्रदर्शन किया गया। हथियार कितने पकड़े गए? कितने पकड़े गए , उनका एक छोटा सा फ्रैक्शन यहां पर प्रदर्शित हुआ तो अंदाजा लगेगा औऱ खास करके विदोशों में बैठे हुए लोगों को जो बहुत बार सोचते हैं कि जम्मू कशमीर में जो कुछ हो रहा वह वहां के असंतोष का ही कारण है। वहां कम से कम स्थिति नियंत्रण में आई है, स्थिति में सुधार हुआ है। साफ्ट टार्गेट्स अभी भी हैं, रास्ता चलते किसी को मार दें या रास्ता चलते कहीं पर बम विस्फोट कर दें, उसका कारण 20-25 लोग मर गए। They have all soft targets. लेकिन पिछले दिनों जम्मू कशमीर में भी आई.एस.आई. की गतिविधि को रोकने में जो हमको सफलता मिली है, उसके परिणामस्वरुप जिस प्रदेश में आज से पिछले साल तक या उससे पिछले साल तक कोई भी टूरिस्ट नहीं जाता था, आज से दो साल पहले वहां पर टूरिस्टों की संख्या केवल तीन सौ रह गई थी। वहां पिछले साल लगभग पांच हजार टूरिस्ट गये थे और

इस साल मुझे आश्चर्य नहीं होगा कि यह संख्या तिंगुनी चोगुनी हो जाए और कम से कम पांच अंकों में निश्चित रुप से हो जाए। अगला साल आने तक हो सकता है लाखों में फिर से पहुंच जाए, जैसा पहले था। फिल्म कम्पनियां जिनके लिए कशमीर एक प्रकार से एक बढ़िया स्थान हुआ करता था। अपनी शूटिंग करने के लिए। पिछले कई सालों से उन्होंने वहां जाना बंद कर दिया था। इस बार अनेक फिल्म कम्पनियां वहां शूटिंग करने के लिए आयी हैं। वहां के होटलों में अगर देखें तो कइयों में अकामोडेशन नहीं मिलती है, यह स्थिति हो गयी है। इसलिए डोडा की, उधमपुर की दो घटनाएं कभी कभी यह इम्प्रेशन पैदा करती हैं, जैसे मानों स्थिति पर नियंत्रण नहीं है। जब कि वस्तुस्थिति यह है कि साफट टारगेट्स है। लेकिन हां, गंभीर स्थिति आज भी है और उस गंभीरता को ध्यान में रखकर ही किसी को गलतफहमी नहीं होनी चाहिए न पूर्वोत्तर के बारे में न किसी और जगह के बारे में यह इस बात के लिए कृतसंकल्प हो कि आई.एस.आई. के सब षड्यंत्रों को हम समाप्त करके छोडेंगे । और उस दृष्टि से इंटेलीजेंस नेटवर्क को जितना हम ऐलर्ट कर सकते हैं, कर रहे हैं। सभी जितने अलग अलग प्रदेशों में हैं, उन प्रदेशों के साथ भी लगातार हम तालमेल बिठाए हुए हैं और मैं कह सकता हूं कि पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों के साथ भी लगातार हमारा संपर्क रहा है। मैं मानता हूं कि उनको जितने साधन चाहिए वह साधन अभी उनके पास नहीं हैं। हमने योजना बनाई हुइ है। Modernisation of the police force all over the country not only in the North-East, लेकिन नार्थ ईस्ट की समस्या विशेष है औऱ यह सही है जो हमारे आसाम के मैम्बरों ने शिकायत की कि हमारे प्रदेश ने तो 600 करोड़ मांगे थे और उनको 131 करोड़ मिले। मैं मानता हूं कि अब तक इस मामले में पंजाब के बारे में निर्णय हो चुका, कैबीनेट का निर्णय हो चुका कि सिक्योरिटी रिलेटिड ऐक्सपैंडीचर हम देंगे । कशमीर के बारे में हो चुका और बाकी जो पूर्वोत्र के प्रदेश हैं, उनके बारे में ऐडहाक अनाउसमेंट हुई है और वह ऐडहाक अनाउसमेंट कभी कभी अनाउसमेंट हो जाती है, उसका कार्यान्वयन करना संभव नहीं होता। प्लानिंग कमीशन कहता है, वित्त मंत्रालय कहता है कि आपने अनाउंसमेंट कर दी लेकिन हमारे पास बजट कहां है? और बजट का अप्रुवल तो कैबीनेट का चाहिए। और इसीलिए इन दिनों में हो मिनिस्टरी में इस दृष्टि से पूरी गाईड लाइन्स बनायी जा रही है कि सिक्योरिटी रिलेटिड ऐक्सपैंडीचर क्या होता है? सिद्वांततः हमको लगता है कि यह जो आतंकवाद, उग्रवाद, इन्सरजेंसी मिलिटेंसी-यह जो प्राब्लम्स है- they have come upon the States और स्टेट्स में अपनी क्षमता नहीं है कि उनका सामना कर सकें। इसीलिए सिद्वांततः हमको उचित लगता है कि सिक्योरिटी रिलेटेड ऐक्सपेंडीचर की जवाबदारी केन्द्रीय सरकार ले। लेकिन उसका कार्यान्वयन करते हुए कभी कभी कोई राज्य कहता है कि इसके कारण, इस मिलिटेंसी के कारण हमारे इतने कारखाने बंद हो गये तो उन कारखानों का भी खर्चा आप दीजिए। तो हम इस समय गाइड लाइन्स तैयार कर रहे हैं, जिन गाइड लाइन्स को लेकर हम कैबीनेट के पास जाएंगे और कैबीनेट की स्वीकृति लेकर सिक्योरिटी रिलेटिड ऐक्सपैंडीचर हम सभी पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों को दे सकें, इसकी व्यवस्था करेंगे। सभापति जी, अनेक सदस्यों ने अनेक विषयों की चर्चा की है। मेरे मित्र मलहोत्रा जी ने, जिन्होने इस चर्चा का आरम्भ किया, उन्होंने जिक्र किया है बंगलादेश बार्डर पर फैंसिंग नहीं दी हुई है।सही है कि जितनी होनी चाहिए उतनी नहीं हुई है। काफी बड़ा बार्डर है और टैरेन का रुप ऐसा है जिसमें फैंसिंग लगाना कोई बहुत आसान नहीं है यह पंजाब और राजस्थान की स्थिति नहीं है। फैंसिग का निर्णय हुआ था तो पूरा निर्णय हुआ था कि पाकिस्तान की सीमा पर भी और बंगलादेश की सीमा पर भी लगाया जाए। हमको इस बात की खुशी है कि पंजाब में हम लगा सके हैं, राजस्थान मे भी हम काफी मात्रा में लगा सके हैं लेकिन बंगलादेश में काफी मात्रा में नहीं लगा सके। शायद आठ सौ किलोमीटर के करीब है. जहां पर हम लगा पाए हैं जब सीमा काफी लम्बी है। लेकिन हमारे ध्यान में है, यह हमारी जवाबदारी है। सड़क बनाना और फैंसिंग लगाना। यह भी मैं जानता हूं और सदन को जानकर खुशी होगी कि पंजाब का अनुभव और राजस्थान का अनुभव यह है कि जहां जहां पर भी हमने फैंसिग लगा लिया, उन स्थानों पर उग्रवादियों की पहले पहल जो घुसपैठ होती थी और उससे भी ज्यादा चिंताजनक होती थी...जिसके कारण पंजाब में जम्मू कशमी में, राजस्थान में और गुजरात में the nature of terrorism is really narcotic terrorism.

मायने अफीम, गांजा, हीरोइन इनके द्वारा स्मगलिंग करवा करके उससे वह टेरिरिज्म को प्रमोट करते है। हमको खुशी है कि जिन स्थानों पर फैंसिग हो सकी है पंजाब में औऱ राजस्थान में वहां पर smuggling and infiltration has come down by nearly 80 per cent.

फैंसिग से पहले जो स्थिति थी और आज की जो स्थिति है उसमें 80 परसेंट की कमी हुई है, यह बहुत बड़ी उपलब्धि है। हमको गुजरात में कठिनाइयां हैं। गुजरात में

कठिनाई है कच्छ के बार्डर के कारण । कच्छ का जो नेचर है वहां पर फैंसिंग का हमने विचार छोड़ा नहीं है। यद्यपि कल्पना यह है कि हम पहले वहां पर एक बन्ध खड़ा करेंगे और बन्ध बनाकर के उसके ऊपर फैंसिंग लगायेंगे। लेकिन फैंसिंग की कल्पना बंगलादेश के बारे में भी और गुजरात के बारे में भी हमारी ज्यों की त्यों मौजूद है। हम उसको जरुर करेंगे।

मल्होत्रा जी ने टाडा का जिक्र किया है। टाडा का एक कानून था जो कि सचमुच में टेरिरिस्ट के खिलाफ था। It was intended to meet terrorism. दुर्भाग्य से उसका दुरुपयोग हुआ बहुत दुरुपयोग हुआ और इतना दुरुपयोग हुआ कि देशभर में उसके खिलाफ जो वातावरण बना उसके कारण सररकार को उसे लेप्स होने देना पड़ा, लेप्स होने दिया। लेकिन टेरिरिज्म आज भी है और टेरिरिज्म जो शुरु शुर में लगता था कि केवल कनफाइंड था पंजाब में या जम्मू कशमीर में, धीर धीरे वह पहुंच चारों और फैलाने के कारण मैंने आज सुबह की प्रातःकाल गाडगिल जी के सवाल का उत्तर दिया जिसमें मैने स्वीकार किया कि पाकिस्तान की आई एस आई ने जब यह योजना बनाई कि हमको भारत को टिस्टेबलाइज करना है तो उनके सामने टारगेट केवल जम्मू कशमीर नहीं था. भारत को भी डिस्टेवलाईज करना था और भाररत को डिस्टेबलाइज करने के उद्देश्य से स्थान स्थान पर उन्होंने इस प्रकार के आउटलेट खड़े किए, जगह जगह पर उन्होंने इस प्रकार के अपने बप्स या आरडीएक्स या पीटीई या सारे हथियार के भेजे और उनके द्वारा षडयंत्र कर रहे हैं। हमारी तरफ से पूरी कोशिश है कि हम इस सारे षडयंत्र को विफल बनायें और उसमें कानून की जरुरत पड़ती है। किसी ने जिक्र किया मैं समझता हूं । शायद एक हमारे सदस्य ने कहा कि एनएसए का उपयोग नार्थ ईस्ट में नहीं हो रहा है। मुझे याद है कि पहली बार जब त्रिपुरा के चीफ मिनिस्टर मुझे मिलने आए थे तब उनके भाई का अपहरण हुआ था, हत्या हुई थी । उस समय मैंने उनसे पूछा कि जो आईडेंटीफाईड टेरिरिस्ट हैं, मिलिटिंट हैं, उनको गिरफ्तार क्यों नहीं किया जाता, एनएसए का उपयोग क्या नहीं होता? उन्होंने कहा कि हमने नीति के तौर पर स्वीकार किया है कि हम एनएसए का उपयोग नहीं करेंगे। मैंने कहा कि देखिए मैं उनमें से हूं जो 1952से लेकर के जब से यह कानून बना तब से लेकर के जिस पार्टी में रहा डा. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी हमारे नेता रहे और डा. मुखर्जी का अगर कोई एतिहासिक भाषण संसद में हुआ है तो वह सेक्योरिटी एक्ट के खिलाफ हुआ है । उस समय एनएसए कानून नहीं था कोई और कानून था। प्रिवेटिव डिटेंशन एक्ट था। तो उस प्रिवेंटिव डिटेंशन एक्ट के नाते उनका जो भाषण था वह एक अनुपम भाषण था बहुत कनवेसिंग बहुत फोर्सफुल भाषण था और इसीलिए प्रिवेंटिव डिटेंशन के लाज के खिलाफ, हम जनरली खिलाफ रहे हैं, लेकिन मैं जानता हूं कि किसी कानून का दुरुपयोग गलत है। लेकिन कभी कभी इस प्रकार का कोई असाधारण कानून संसद बनाती है तो उस कानून का उपयोग न करना सही स्थिति में वह भी गलत है। मैं मानता हूं कि आज पूर्वोत्तर में जैसी स्थिति पैदा हुई है, जिस प्रकार की इनसरजेंसी पैदा हूई है, जिस प्रकार से हमारे देशके दुशमन सीमा पर खडे हुए उकसाते हैं, पैसा देकर के उकसाते हैं, इतना ही नहीं है कैम्प लगाकर के, ट्रेनिंग दे कर के, हथियार भेज कर के उकसाते हैं। उनको हम कैसे आईडेंटीफाई कर सकते हैं कि यह उग्रवादी है, यह मिलिटेंट है क्योंकि हमारे पास कोई प्रमाण नहीं है, हमारे पास कोई अदालत में उसको कन्विक्ट करने के लिए योग्य एवीडेंस नहीं है । इसके कारण हम छोड़ दें, मैं समझता हूं कि यह भी कतव्य पालन न करना होगा। उन्होंने मेरी बात मानी और कहा कि मैं आपकी बात मानता हूं और उन्होंने अपने प्रदेश में जा कर जो पहली पहली घोषणा की वह यह कि हमारी सरकार एनएसए का उपयोग करेगी और मैं जानता हूं कि पूर्वोत्तर राज्य में भी पिछले दिनों में एनएसए के केसेज हुए हैं, एनएसए में लोग गिरफतार हुए हैं। क्योंकि आखिर एनएसए के जितने केसेज हैं यहां होम मिनिस्ट्री में आते हैं मेरे पास उनसे पता लगता है कि उनका उपयोग हो रहा है।

पड़ौस के देशों की मैने बात कही, मैं इतना ही कह सकता हूं कि बंगलादेश में आईएसआई ने इस प्रकार के कैम्प्स लगाए हैं, हम इस बात से परिचित हैं, हम जानते हैं। हमने बंगलादेश की सरकार का ध्यान इस बात की ओर दिलाया है। बंगलादेश की सरकार की अपनी क्या विवशता है, इसकी मैं चर्चा नहीं करुंगा। लेकिन थोड़ा बहुत परिर्वतन पिछली सरकार औऱ अब की सरकार में है। जो अब सरकार है उसने हमारे साथ मेमोरेन्डम आफ अंडरस्टेंडिंग साइन किए है, हस्ताक्षर किए हैं जिसके अनुसार हमारे होम कैक्रेटरी, उनके होम सैक्रेटरी हमारे पैरामिलिट्री फोर्सेज के डायरेक्टर जनरल और उनके पैरामिलिट्री फोर्सेज के डायरेक्टर जनरल लगातार आपस में मिलते रहते हैं और इस प्रकार की समस्याओं को निपटारा कैसे हो, उसका हल निकालने की कोशिश करते रहे हैं। हमारी सरकार के बनने के बाद भी मई के महीने में हमारे बीएसएफ के डायरेक्टर जनरल और उनके डायरेक्टर जनरल दोनों आपस में मिले थे और वार्ता हुई,

कई मामलों मे मझौता भी हुआ और इस दिशा में बंगलादेश औऱ म्यामार से भी हमारे मेमोरेन्डम आफ अंडरस्टेंडिंग साईन हुए हैं जिसके आधार पर यह कोशिश करते हैं कि हर एक देश इस बात को समझे कि insurgency, terrorism, narco-tcrrorism, smuggling are evils in the entire world. सारे विश्व के लिए है और जो देश इसको प्रोत्साहन देगा वह खुद इसका शिकार बनेगा, इसमे कोई सन्देह नहीं है।मैं जानता हूं कि इसके परिणाम पाकिस्तान को आज भी भुगतने पड़ रहे हैं। अगर पाकिस्तान से अभी भी कोई वार्ता होगी तो हम इस बात का उल्लेख जरुर करेंगे कि हम दोनों देशों का हित इसमें है कि हम मिलिटेंन्सी टेरेरिज्म को मिलकर समाप्त करें और किसी भी प्रकार से State sponsored terrorism is the worst evil possible. कोई राज्य इस बात को प्रोत्साहन दे कि दूसरे देश मे जाकर टेरेरिज्म करे और बेगुनाह लोगों की इस प्रकार से हत्या करे जैसे होती रहती है हैं हत्याएं। मैं आपको बता सकता हूं कि जब मैं ऊधमपर के गांव में गया था, जिसमें अभी अभी हत्याकांड हुआ था, ऐसा भंयकर दृश्य देखा जो मैं शायद कभी जीवनभर भूल नहीं सकूंगा। जब कोई उग्रवादी बंदूक लेकर, ए के 47 लेकर किसी को मारता है तो ठीक है दो चार गोलियां इधर से उधर और मर गए सब. लेकिन इसमे बन्दूक की एक गोली भी नहीं चली थी । 26-27 लोगों को जिनमें स्वित्रया और पांच छ साल के छोट छोट बच्चे थे काटकर मारा गया, एक एक झोपड़ी में जिस प्रकार से मारा गया था, साफ उदेश्य दिखाई देता था आतंक पैदा करना, डर पैदा करना ताकि कभी कोई यहां पर रहने की हिम्मत न कर सके। ऐसा दृश्य देखकर लगता है कि दुनिया के हरेक देश को इस बात को पहचानाना चाहिए कि आज हम जो किसी दुसरे देश के खिलाफ करते हैं वह हमको भी बहुत महंगा पड़ेगा।

जमीर जी ने एक बात कही, उसको मैं ध्यान में रखूंगा कि भाई, राज्य सरकार को जानकारी होनी चाहिए जो भी गतिविधियां होती है। जरुर उसकी जानकारी होगी।

अरुण शर्मा जी ने आसाम अकार्ड की बात कही मिजो अकार्ड की बात कही हमारे मिजोरम के सदस्य ने। मैं इतना ही कह सकता हूं कि ये अकार्ड काफी पुराने हो गए हैं खासकर के आसाम अकार्ड के अधीन जो एक कानूनम बना, उस आसाम अकार्ड को करने वाले हैं। कहने लगे इस कानून को रिपील करवाओ, बन्द करो। और वह अभी तक रिपील नहीं हुआ है क्योंकि सरकारें आती हैं तो सरकारों का दृष्टिकोण थोड़ा बदल जाता है। विपक्ष में हैं तो एक रहता है, बाद में दूसरा हो जाता है। लेकिन यह सरकार है, जैसे किसी माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि मिजोरम अकार्ड हुआ, उस अकार्ड से आप सहमत हों या न हों, लेकिन सरकार ने अकार्ड किया तो सरकार कांटीन्युटी है, मैं इस बात को मानता हूं मेरा कर्त्तव्य होगा जो भी अकार्ड पूर्व की सरकारों ने किये हैं, प्रामाणिकता से उनका पालन करना और उनके अनुसार चलना ।यह हमारा कर्त्तव्य होगा।

संजय निरुपम जी ने कहा कि जो अखबारों में टाटा टी की बात आई थी कि टाटा ने किस प्रकार से उग्रवादियों की सहायता की, इसका जिक्र बहुत हुआ था, अचानक वह सब कुछ गायब हो गया। गायब नहीं हुआ सरकार को जानकारी है। लेकिन सरकार को यह भी जानकारी है कि उस कांड में, उस प्रकरण में आसाम की सरकार ने कुछ लोगों के खिलाफ चार्जेज लगाए, प्रोसीक्यूट किया औऱ वह केस इस समय अदालत में है, इसलिए उसके बारे में मेरे लिए कुछ कहना संभव नहीं है। सभापति महोदय, मैंने कोशिश की है जितने प्रमुख विषय उठाए गए थे, उनका मैं जिक्र करुं । मैं एक ही बात कह कर अपनी बात सामाप्त करुंगा और वह बात भी मैने पूर्वोत्तर के प्रदेशों को बी कही की हिंदुस्तान में एक प्रान्त कम से कम ऐसा रहा है जहां पर उग्रवाद चरम समीम पर पहुच गया और ऐसी स्थिति आ गई कि मुझे यह याद आता है 1990 में या 1991-92-93 में मैं कभी पंजाब जाता था तो ऐसा लगता था कि इस प्रदेश में कभी होना नहीं है, कभी परिवर्तन आना नहीं है। शाम को 6 बजे के बाद कोई घर से निकलने को तैयार नहीं होता था। ऐसी आंतक और भय की स्थिति थी। सब को लगता था कि कभी भी कोई मर जाएगा, किसी भी समय किसी की हत्या हो जाएगी। लेकिन उस प्रदेश में आतंकवाद के चरम सीमा पर पहुचंने के बाद भी अगर स्थिति इतनी बदल गई है कि आज Punjab is as good as any other State in the counrty. उसमें से इतना आत्म विश्वास पैदा होता है कि बाकी देश में भी जम्मू कशमीर से लेकर पूर्वोत्तर तक भी सब वैसे के वैसे बन सकते हैं फिर से उसके लिए एक संकल्प चाहिए, एक निर्णय चाहिए।

मैंने अभी अभी श्रीनगर के एक सम्मेलन में कहा कि हमारी सरकार की चार बातें होंगी जो हमारी सारी स्टेटेजी का हिस्सा होंगी। एक तो जो आंतकवाद मे विश्वास करते हैं, हिंसा और हत्या की राजनीति में विश्वास करते हैं उनको कोई भी किसी भी प्रकार का दया भाव नहीं दिखायेंगे। To quell subversive activities with

a firm hand. उसके बारे में हाफ हास्टेंड नहीं है। कभी कभी लोग कहते हैं कि हर एक चीज में इकोनोमिक प्रोब्लम है, पोलिटिकल प्रोब्लम है, आप लॉ एंड आर्डर की प्रोब्लम मत समझें। इस देश को हमने लोकतंत्रीय ढांचा अपने को दिया है पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में। अब यह नागालैंड राज्य बना, बातचीत करके बना। मिजोरम राज्य बना, बातचीत कर के बना, अकार्ड हुआ। में अपोजीशन में रहते हुए आलोजना करता था लेकिन मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि उग्रवाद का रास्ता छोड़ कर जो उस समय नेतृत्व कर रहे थे उस प्रदेश का उन्होंने मान लिया चलो हम कांस्टीट्यूशन के भीतर रहेंगे। इसीलिए प्रधानमंत्री को कोट लिया किसी माननीय सदस्य ने अभी अभी जब वह आसाम गए थे तो उन्होंने कहा कि जो भटके हुए हैं उनको मैं कहता हूं कि आओ बात करो, मैं बातचीत करने के लिए तैयार हूं लेकिन बातचीत विदिन फोर कॉर्नर्स आफ दॉ कास्टीट्यूशन होगी संविधान जो हमारा है उसकी चार चौखट के भीतर होगी। वह बात करने के लिए तैयार है। उग्रवाद, हिंसा, हत्या की राजनीति करने वालों के साथ कठोरता से व्यवहार करना और साथ ही साथ यह कोशिश करेंगे कि मिलिटेंट्स जनता से विलग हो जाएं। Isolate the militants from the people. पंजाब में जो सफलता मिली उसका प्रमुख कारण था वहां की सफलता का कारण पेरामिलिटरी फोर्सिज भी नहीं, वहां की सफलता का प्रमुख कारण वहां की जनता है।

7:00 m.p.

उसके साथ साथ मैं सभी पूर्वोत्तर प्रदेशी को कहता हूं कि पंजाब में जो सिक्योरिटी फोर्सेस भी हैं उनमें सबसे अधिक कंट्रीब्यूट किसी ने किया तो पंजाब की पुलिस ने किया। पैरा मिलिट्री फोर्सेस और आर्मी से ज्यादा किया। यही स्थिति पूर्वोत्तर के राज्यों में पैदा होनी चाहिए। आखिर तो पैरा मिलिट्री फोर्सिज जो जाती हैं वे थोडे दिन के लिए जाती है। उनका तो परिवर्तन होता रहता है। स्थान की भी जानकारी पूरी नहीं होती। सेना को भी जानकारों नहीं होती। लेकिन वहां पर जो पुलिस में काम करने वाले लोग हैं उनको ध्यान की जानकारी होती है। सब बातों का परिचय होता है। किस बात पर क्या विवेकपूर्वक ज्ञान होता है। इसीलिए कुल मिला कर पैरामिलिट्री फोर्सेज और सेना से ज्यादा सिक्योरिटी का दायित्व पुलिस को निभाना है। इस बात की ओर सब राज्यों को ध्यान देना चाहिए।

तीसरी चीज कहूंगा जिसका जिक्र जसवंत सिंह जी ने किया और जिसका जिक्र सब लोगों ने किया कि विकास को आगे बढ़ाओ। विकास करते हुए जितना धन आता है उसका सद्पयोग हो। भ्रष्टाचार में वह न जाए। राजीव जी ने एक बात कही थी कि दिल्ली से जो पैसा जाता है। एक रुपया जाता है तो 15 पैसे वहां बहुंचता है। वह स्थिति कई बार इस प्रकार की परिस्थितियों का निर्माण करने में प्रमुख कारण रहती है। नागालैंड के हमारे सदस्य ने कहा। यह कोई सिम्पलिस्टिक बात नहीं है। लेकिन इसमें जितनी सच्चाई है उसको भी स्वीकार करना चाहिए। उसको पहचानना चाहिए और उसको ठीक करना चाहिए। यह किसी के ऊपर आरोप नहीं है। लेकिन यह वस्तुस्थिति है।

चौथी चीज, मैं समझता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान को इस बात पर गर्व है कि 50 साल में डेवलागिंग कंट्रीज में किसी ने लोकतंत्र को अपनाया है ढंग से तो इस देश ने अपनाया है। हमारे इस पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में भी ठीक प्रकार की प्रक्रिया चले और स्वस्थ रूप से चले यह चौथी आवश्यकता है।

ये चारों आवश्यकताएं हम करेंगे तो मुझे विश्वास है जिस प्रकार से पंजाब में हम उग्रवाद पर काबू पा सके उसी प्रकार से पूर्वोत्तर के राज्यों में भी हम काबू पा सकेंगे। बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Half-an-hour discussion. Shri Nilotpal Basu.

HALF AN HOUR DISCUSSION

Points Arising out of the answer given in the Rajya Sabha on the 3rd June, 1998 to Starred Question No. 101 regarding areas under Acute Poverty

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Sanatan Bisi) the Chair]

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU (WPQ-Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairmafi, Sir, I will be very brief because it is already quite late and I do not want to test the patience of Members. This half-an-hour discussion arises out of the Starred Question No. 101 and the supplementaries put on 3rd June, 1998. It was basiscally about the identification and the methods to be used for the, identification of the IGO most backward districts. The question was whether the Government was going to evolve some kind of a special plan to address the chronic backwardness of some of these areas. It was said in the written statement